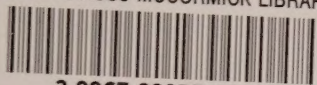
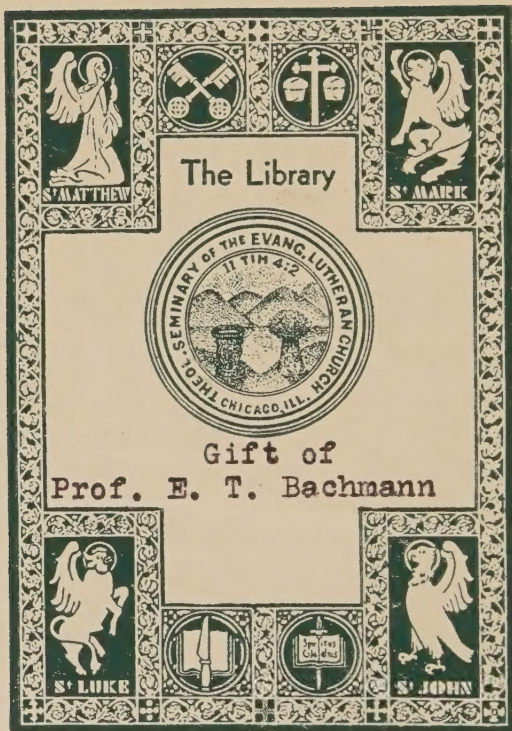


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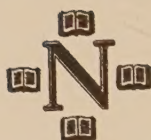
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CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD A HISTORY OF
ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

VOLUME I



CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD
A HISTORY
OF
ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

VOLUME I

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*Gens bona Gothorum semper sine fine valet,
Electus domino populus, plebs inclyta salve.
Praeclaris gentes vicisti maxime bellis
Quam multas quondam: hostes modo vincite Christi
Per clypeum fidei, per fortia tela salutis.
Auxiliator erit vobis deus almus ubique,
Si iam firma fides habitat sub pectore vestro,
Atque opus egregium sequitur bona dona fidei.
Has, rogo, litterulas placido percurrite sensu,
Quas modo direxit vobis dilectio sancta.
Prospera cuncta deus Gothis concedat Olympi,
Omnibus aeterni tribuens bona gaudia regni,
Inque piis precibus memores estote, rogamus
Albini semper, scripsit qui talia vobis.
Vos deus omnipotens totum conservet in aevum,
Aeternum tribuens vobis per saecula regnum.*

—Alcuin.



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FOREWORD

My Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents has provoked a storm of indignation among those from whose printed conclusions I differ on the basis of documentary evidence. This is only as it should be, and my sole regret is that my critics have used language of such a general character that I am not able to reply to them without being drawn into a discussion of personalities quite beside the point at issue. I am, however, confident that many of my critics will experience a change of heart after becoming acquainted with the sum total of my mediaeval investigations.

I ask the reader earnestly to weigh the facts adduced in the present volume. Some of the conclusions arrived at will be apparent at once, while others will become clear later, when a series of volumes still to be published will show how the literary Germanic languages have arisen on a weak Germanic substratum by a sudden influx of Low Latin, Arabic, and ghost words. The second volume will contain a study of the sources of the Old High German Keronian glosses. It will be shown there that they arose from the Graeco-Latin glossaries under the influence of Gothic interpretations, which themselves owe their origin to the Graeco-Arabic learning of Spain.

My works would greatly be retarded in publication, were it not for the generous aid offered me by my former student and present friend, John B. Stetson, Jr., of Philadelphia, whose faith in me and my work still holds in spite of the obstacles I have encountered. I wish also to record the name of another former student of mine, Mr. Phillips Barry, who for years has patiently

watched the progress of my investigations, and who has composed the Index to the present volume.

P. S.—The present work was all printed, when the startling discovery was made that the Arabic glosses of the *Codex Toletanus* 15, 8 of Isidore's *Etymologice*, written soon after 733, contained the majority of the words treated by me so far and still to be treated in the following volumes. It is too late to discuss the results of this discovery at any length, but I wish to state that the manner in which the Arabic words got into the Gothic Bible and into the Keronian glosses has by this discovery been made clear beyond all anticipation, and the subjects surveyed by me have been removed from the field of speculation to that of self-evident facts. My next volume will contain a complete analysis of *Codex Toletanus* 15, 8 and a discussion of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, in so far as this work is responsible for the oldest Old High German and Anglo-Saxon glosses, and for the language of the so-called Gothic Bible.

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INTRODUCTION

I

My discovery of the late date of the Gothic Bible is fraught with important consequences, the whole bearing of which upon the civilization of the Middle Ages I am as yet able to discuss only in detached investigations. I have no theory to offer or to defend,—I merely wish to ascertain the facts through the maze of falsehoods propagated by the mediaeval writers and their modern congeners, the comparative philologists.¹ In time I shall write a chapter on the history of human follies, in which I shall pass in review the various fashions in philology from their inception to the creation of “stars” of diminutive magnitude with which to show up the cosmic darkness of the philologic brain. At present I am not concerned with philology, but with history. If I adduce etymologies, I do so as part of the documentary evidence and in support of facts ascertained independently of the philologic method. It would be presumption in me to assume that I have always struck the right solution. My task is accomplished if I compel the world of scholars to take into consideration the influence of Arabico-Gothic culture upon the history of Europe.

¹ Naturally, there are among them also serious and sympathetic men, but their number is as yet very small. I wish to recommend Sigmund Feist's *Indogermanen und Germanen*, Halle a S. 1914, to every young philologist who is not under the spell of the philological madness. In spite of the innumerable blunders contained in Feist's work, due to his inability to tear himself completely away from the Brugmann school, this book gives the sanest view on Indo-Europeanism and Proto-Germanism, two arbitrary divisions, which have created havoc with facts and truth. All honor to men like Feist who have the courage to dissent!

The present book brings but a small number of Arabic words which have entered into the composition of the Germanic languages. A much larger number will be discussed in the subsequent volumes. Feist¹ has already noticed the presence of one Semitic word, namely *kas* "pitcher, dish," *kasja* "potter." He gives also ONorse *ker*, AS. *bīkar* "alvearia," OHG. *char*, plur. *cherir* "vessel" as belonging here. Observing that Heb. *kōs*, Aram. *kōs*, Arab. *kās*, Assyr. *kāsu* means "beaker," he concludes that, in all probability, the name for "dish" entered at an early time through the South of Europe, and points out the strange fact that Lat. *vās* "vessel" is also without etymology.

All of these references are irrelevant. The AS. *bīkar* is obviously borrowed from OHG. *bīakar*, otherwise Anglo-Saxon and English have no word of this type. ONorse coincides with OHG. in the use of *ker* as a compound in words which refer to boxes or dishes containing certain objects. In OHG. *char* is translated by "cratera, sinus, concha," and in the compounds it has the meaning of "container," hence, "jar, box, vat." We have the diminutive *karel*, *cherola*. In the modern German dialects *kar* has survived in the general sense of "container" and "measure of a certain size." The word appeared rather late in Old High German and has not maintained itself in the literary language.

This is the Arab. جرة *garrah*² "a jar, a vessel made

¹ *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, Halle a. S. 1909.

² I retain, in general, Steingass's transliteration of Arabic sounds, but I write ت *t* and ط *t*, د *d* and ض *d*, dz, because ت generally corresponds to Goth. þ, with the sound of Eng. *th* in "thick," ط to Goth. *t*, د to Goth. þ, apparently with the sound of Eng. *th* in "this," ض to Goth. *d*, ذ to

of potter's clay," as may easily be shown from a study of the distribution of the word. We have LLat. *jarra*, Ital. *giarra*, OProv. *garra*, *jarra*, Fr. *jarre*, etc., "a vessel containing oil," OFr. *car*, *carre* "a certain measure," and from this LL. *gerula*, *gerla*, *zerla*, *garleta* "wine jar, wine measure." Most interesting are the contractions of the diminutive, *gella*, *gillo*, *gellus*, *galo*, *jalo*, all with the same meaning of "wine-measure," from which ultimately come our *gallon* and *gill*. I shall treat this group more in full at another time, but here it is enough to direct attention to OFr. *car*, *carre*, OProv. *garra*, Prov. and Basque *charro*, to show that OHG. *char* is from the same origin, namely, from the Arabic, hence cannot be quoted, in spite of the seeming relationship, as an Old High German form corresponding to Goth. *kas*. This, then, leaves *kas* all sole alone, and, if it is Semitic, it can be nothing but Arab.

كأس *kās* "a vessel without handles, cup."

Goth. *dz*. ٤ I write *h*, except when it enters organically as a *t* into Gothic,

when I write *t*. Unfortunately, it is impossible to ascertain the precise vocalic values of Arabic in the eighth century, hence Goth. *a*, *ai* and *e* appear in the Arabic transliteration as *a*, Goth. *ai*, *e* and *i* as *i*, Goth. *au*, *o* and *u* as *u*. Indeed, it is the Gothic that will some day help to recon-

struct the Arabic sounds of that period. Arab. ج is always *g* in Gothic,

exactly as it is in the Egyptian dialect. It is, therefore, doubtful if Span.

j from the same Arab. ج was ever pronounced *dž* in Spain, even though

the later Arabic pronounces it so. ج seems to have been a guttural *g*

while Goth. *g* was probably even more guttural. This appears to be so

from the Arabic transliteration of "Gotus" by قوطي *qūṭī*. All this I

shall be able to discuss only after all the Arabic words in Gothic have been investigated. I write the nominative ending "-un" only in those cases where it has entered into the composition of the Gothic words.

We have a still better proof that some Arabic words have entered the Gothic without affecting the other Germanic languages. This is the case with *balsan* "balsamum," which is the Arab. بلسان *balsān*.

In Mark XII.1 ἐπολήνιον, "the hole under the wine-press," is translated by *dal uf mesa*. *Mēs*, it is true, occurs several times in the sense of "table, dish," but how did it come to mean "wine-press?" On that point all the dictionaries are silent, whereas we have Arab. معصر *mi'sar* "the things in which grapes and olives are pressed, to force out the juice," معصار *mi'sār* "that in which a thing is put and pressed, in order that its water, or the like, may flow or ooze out," from the verb عسره *'asarahu* "he squeezed it out."

Still better is the case of the clause ἅμα δὲ καὶ which is translated by Goth. *bijandzupþan*, of which Feist says: "Mit diesem ἅπαξ λεγόμενον ist nichts anzufangen." Quite so, since it is the Arab. بان ذاته *bī ān dzāṭah* "at the identical time." Apparently the translator slipped into the Arabic clause, as he could think of no corresponding Gothic word. The combination is not common even in Arabic, although perfectly correct. It is even possible that the translator made up the combination and thought of the adverb

ذات *dzāṭan* "essentially the same" and بان *biān* "at the time," which would account for the ending *-an*.

Goth. *aihtrōn* "to beg, pray," *aihtrōns* "prayer" is not represented in any Germanic language. It is from Arab.

إقتراح *'igitrahun* "petition, grievance" from Gr. ἰκετηρία.¹

¹ "Δέσποτα ἡγεμόν, τὴν ἰκετηρίαν προσάγω" (303), B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London 1898, vol. I, p. 132.

Goth. *aistan* "to be ashamed" is by Feist compared with OHG. *ēra*, AS. *ár*, OFris. *ēre* "honor" ONorse *eir* "peace, clemency," and this with Sansk. *īḍē* "I honor," Lat. *aestumo* "I honor," Gr. *αἰδομαι* "I am ashamed." But in the latter case Feist admits that the relation is doubtful. Here everything is problematic. Lat. *aestumo*, which originally means "I tax, appreciate," is so uncertain a combination that it must be left out completely from consideration. Sansk. *īḍ*, *īl* is obviously related to Canarese *īlu* "attachment, as that of children to parents," Telugu *īluvu* "honor, decorum," and the great Dravidian *īḍu* group, which means "plenty, greatness, largeness, wealth, means." This is only a suggestion, and not a solution. I merely wish to point out that the very rare Sanskrit word, which has left no trace elsewhere, has nothing whatsoever to do with our Germanic word. In the Germanic, OHG. *ēra* stands quite alone. The northern correspondents are borrowings from the German. In ONorse *eir* occurs only in poetry. In Anglo-Saxon it does not appear before 900, and it vanishes, as it appeared, from the language, because it never gained citizenship. It remained a foreign word. In Gothic it is not recorded. If it existed there, it should have been, according to the "rules," *aizō*. It is not unlikely that such a word did exist, and from this the OHG. naturally would have formed its *ēra*. Now Arab. عز 'azza means "he was or became strong, powerful," عز 'izz "high or elevated rank, nobility, gloriousness," عز 'azz "mighty, powerful, noble, invincible."

However it may be, there is not the slightest chance of connecting this OHG. *ēra* with Goth. *aistan* "to be

ashamed." This is more likely Arab. استحيى 'istahya

"he felt or had a sense of shame, shyness, bashfulness."

Goth. *aips* "oath," OHG. *eid*, AS. *áp*, ONorse *eidr*. No Indo-Germanic relationship has been discovered.

It is Arab. عهد 'ahd "an injunction, a charge, bidding, order, command, contract, covenant, bond, obligation, promise," from اهدا 'ahida "he enjoined, charged, bade, ordered, commanded him, fulfilled a promise, was observant of what was sacred."

Goth. *akran* "fruit, produce." This is not found in Old High German, is very late in AS. *aecern* "acorn," and dial. Ger. *acheram*, *akram* "acorn, beechnut." It is obvious that the word is not primarily Germanic and that its original meaning is "increase, produce, fruit." This is from Arab. اكره *ākrahu* "he made a contract, or bargain, with him to till and sow and cultivate land for a share of its produce," اكر *akrun* "to till the ground, plough it up for sowing."

Goth. *balþaba* "bold," *balþei* "boldness," AS. *beald*, ONorse *ballr*, OHG. *bald* "bold." The Romance languages possess the same word, Span. *balde*, *baladi* "in vain, worthless," *balda* "fault, weakness," *baldo* "empty," *baldío* "in vain, useless," Ital. *baldo* "bold," Prov. *baut*, *baudos*, OFr. *baud* "jolly." All these are from Arab. بطل *batal* "courageous, brave, one whose wound goes for nothing, so that he does not care for it,"

باطل *bātil* "false, untrue, wrong, futile, worthless, useless, vain." The change from the form *batl* to *balþ* is due to a confusion with Arab. بالدا *balada* "he was

or became stupid, dull, soft, weak," بليد *balīd* "stupid, dull, inert," بالد *bālīd* "lasting, that does not pass away." In both cases contrary meanings arise from the same fundamental idea. From *batala* "it was false, useless" arises the idea of "boldness, heroic," that is, "considering suffering as useless," while from *balada* "he stayed, remained" we get "country, countrylike, stupid, lazy, languid" and also "lasting."

Goth. *balweins* "pain, torment," OS. *balu*, OHG. *balo* "evil," AS. *bealu* "bad," ONorse *bolva* "to curse." Also found in OBulg. *bol* "sick, sickness," *bolēti* "to have pain." From Arab. بلو *balwun* "to try,

prove, test with evil, to afflict," بلاء *balā*, بلوى *balwa* "a trial, probation, a trouble or an affliction of any kind by which one's patience or any grace or virtue is tried, proved or tested."

Goth. *baups* "dumb, deaf." "Das Wort steht isoliert da" (Feist). From Arab. بات *bāṭṭ* "cut off from reason, or intellect, by drunkenness, stupid or foolish," بت *batt* "one who is drunk, who does not speak plainly, who does not articulate speech."

Goth. *beist* "yeast," *gabeistjan* "to leaven," OHG. *biost*, AS. *beóst*, *bȳst* "biestings," given in LLat., in the AS. vocabularies, as *obestrum*, *obesca*, *obestum*. From Arab. غبثة *gabīsāt* "the preparation of curd called اقط moistened and beaten up, or mingled with clarified butter," عيشة *abīsāt* "the preparation of curd called اقط whereof what is moist is poured out, when it is cooked, upon what is dry thereof, and mixed with it." These

words are from عَبَثُ 'abasa, غَبَثُ gabasa "he mixed or mingled." This اَقِطُ 'aqit is "a preparation of dried curd, a preparation made from milk of sheep and goats which has been churned, and of which the butter has been taken, cooked, and then left until it becomes concrete, or made from the milk of camels in particular, a thing made from milk, being a kind of cheese." Apparently this 'aqit is related to, or derived from, Lat. *acetum*. It is very likely that this Arabic form determined the form of Goth. *akeit* "vinegar." In any case we have here an important contribution towards the use of curd or buttermilk as a leaven in the eighth century. From a philological standpoint this Arab.

غَبْثَة gabīsat is extremely interesting, since it introduces us to a large number of words in Gothic in which the organic *ga-* of Arabic words has been considered a prefix and dropped in the formation of the Gothic words.

I shall end with two extremely interesting words, which lead to Eng. *iron* and *beam*, leaving the remaining words for my later volumes.

Goth. *eisarn*.

If the Gothic Bible is based on a Greek text, then *eisarn* never means "iron," but only "chains, irons," for it is the translation of Greek ἀλύσεις and πέδας.¹ As the corresponding passages in the Vulgate have each time "catenae" for *eisarn*, there cannot be the slightest doubt that *eisarn* did not mean "iron" in Gothic. It

¹ "Jah ni naudibandjom *eisarneinaim* manna mahta ina gabindan, unte is ufta *eisarnam* bi fotuns gabuganaim jah naudibandjom *eisarneinaim* gabundans was jah galausida af sis þos naudibandjos jah þo ana fotum *eisarna* gabrak, καὶ οὕτε ἀλύσεις οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο αὐτὸν δῆσαι, διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πολλάκις πέδαις καὶ ἀλύσεσιν δεδέσθαι καὶ διεσπᾶσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀλύσεις καὶ τὰς πέδας συντετριφῆθαι", Marc. V. 3, 4; "jah bundans was *eisarnabandjom* jah fotubandjom, καὶ ἔδεσμεῖτο ἀλύσεσιν καὶ πέδαις", Luc. VIII. 29.

is generally supposed that Goth. *eisarn* means "iron" and is derived from the Celtic, because of the specific statement in the *Vita Eugendi* (+510), that in the Gallic language *Ysarnodorus* means "ferrei ostii."¹ But as it has been conclusively shown that the *Vita* was written after 800,² the explanation is valueless, as are similar other attempts of the mediaeval author.

As Goth. *eisarn* means "catena, αλυσίς," it is absurd to begin with the meaning "iron." Now Arab. اسار

īsār-un means "a thing with which one binds, a thong of untanned hide, a rope or cord, with which a captive is bound, a pair of shackles." Obviously the other Germanic languages borrowed this Arabic word through the Gothic, where it had a leaning toward the meaning "iron chain." In OHG., *īsarn* means "iron," and very early we get here the corruption *īsen*, *īsin*, leading to Germ. *Eisen*. Similarly AS. *īsern* deteriorates early to *īsen*, *īren*, producing Eng. *iron*, while in ONorse *īsarn* occurs only in poetry and popularly changes to *earn*, *járn*. From the AS. the word passed into OIrish as *iarn*, *hiarn*, and spread to the other Celtic languages.

Goth. *bagms* "tree."

One of the oldest dye-woods is the *sappan*, *Caesalpinia sappan*, which grows in the East-Indies, from Ceylon to Java and the Malay Archipelago.³ It can be shown that the industrial value of the tree was discovered, or, at least, promoted, by the Chinese before the Christian era. The Malay name, *sapang*, but still better, its Philippine form, *sibúcao*,⁴ is derived

¹ So explained in A. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig 1897, sub *Isarno-duro-s*.

² MGH., *Scriptorum rerum merovingicarum*, vol. III, p. 128.

³ J. Wiesner, *Die Rohstoffe des Pflanzenreiches*, Leipzig 1901, vol. II, p. 934.

⁴ "Los Españoles le llaman *sapang* ó *sibúcao* como los Indios," M. Blanco, *Flora de Filipinas*, Manila 1837, p. 335.

from the ancient Southern Chinese *su buk*, in the Mandarin dialect, *su muh*, of which the old pronunciation was *su muk*, and which literally means "fragrant tree." The chief characteristic of the sappan wood is its ability to produce a bloodred dye, wherefore it has been popularly assumed to remedy injuries due to coagulated blood.¹

In the first centuries of the Christian era the Chinese word for the red dye, if not the dye itself, was known to the Syrians and Chaldeans, for it is recorded in the Talmud as סִמָּק סִמָּק sēmaq "to be red," סִמָּק סִמָּק sūmmāq, sūmmāqā "something red," while אֶהְיֶה סִמָּק āhīnā sūmmāqā is given for "red fig or date." Similarly the Syriac has *smaq* "it was red," *sūmaqa* "vermilion writing, tanner's red." Apparently the Syrians, who had learned of the dyestuff from the Chinese, soon discovered a native substitute for it in the *Rhus coriaria*, the ῥοῦς Συριακός of the Greeks.² Possibly they had used this plant for dyeing purposes before, and only marketed it under the Chinese name during or after the active trade intercourse between China and the West, of which Pliny tells so much. The Arabs borrowed the Syrian word in all its acceptations, hence it appears in Arabic as ساق *summāq* and

سوق *samūq* "a certain acid thing, with which one cooks; the fruit of certain trees of the high grounds and mountains, acid, consisting of bunches of small berries,

¹ "La decocción del leño en agua, que es de color de sangre, se da á beber á los que han llevado alguna caída ó golpe, porque la voz general la atribuye virtud especial para deshacer la sangre coagulada," *ibid.* But these curative properties are also assumed by modern physicians, who, at the same time, consider the sappan wood as an excellent diuretic and emmenagogue. See G. Watt, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, vol. II, Calcutta 1889, p. 10 ff.

² The Greek ῥοῦς, ῥόα is, no doubt, to be derived from Egyptian *roi*, *rou*, "color, paint."

which are cooked; an intensely red berry; an acid berry which excites appetite, stops chronic diarrhoea,"

ساق *sumāq* "pure, sheer, unmixed."

The Greeks distinctly referred to this plant as of Syrian origin. Galen distinguished three varieties of the rhus, one, for which monk's rhubarb was a substitute, another, the culinary kind, for which elderberries could be used, and a third, the tanner's sumach, which is mentioned by the side of oak-galls.¹ It is likely that all three varieties were obtained from the same plant, for Dioscorides says that the rhus, called by some ἐρυθρόν "red," was used as a condiment and for tanning leather.² Its edibility was known to Aretaeus,³ and Pliny, quoting a Greek source, says that it was used as a condiment, just like salt, and had the same culinary and medical properties as the Egyptian mulberry fig.⁴

If we now turn to the Germanic languages, we find there the Syrio-Arabic *sūmaq* in all the acceptations in which the word occurs in the Semitic languages. We have Goth. *smakka* "fig," which arose either from the medical confusion of the rhus with the mulberry fig, or from the current Syr. *ahīnā sūmmāqā*, apparently the name for a certain variety of the fig. The Gothic word, in its ampler significance as "condiment," spread to the Franks, for we find OHG. *gesmah* "salsamenta," *zi gismachen* "ad condimenta olerum nutrienda,"

¹ "Ἀντὶ τοῦ ρόδου Συριακῆς, λαπάθου ῥίζα, ἀντὶ τοῦ μαγειρικοῦ ξηροῦ, σάμψυχος, ἀντὶ τοῦ βυρσοδεψικοῦ, κικίδες", Claudii Galeni *Opera omnia*, ed. Kühn, Lipsiae 1833, vol. XIX, p. 741 ff.

² "Ροῦς ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψα, ὃν ἔνιοι ἐρυθρόν καλοῦσι, καρπὸς ἐστὶ τῆς καλουμένης βυρσοδεψικῆς ρόδου, ἥ τις ὠνομάσθη ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς βυρσοδέψας αὐτῆς χρῆσθαι εἰς τὴν στύψιν τῶν δερμάτων", I, 138.

³ "Ρόδς τὸ ἐδώδιμον", Aretæi Cappadocis *Opera omnia*, ed. Kühn, Lipsiae 1828, p. 264.

⁴ "Ρόα τὰ ἐκ τῆς συκαμίνου, καὶ μόρα, αἵτινα ἄωρα ξηρανθέντα καὶ κοπέντα τοῖς ὄψοις ἐπιτάττεται, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ κυρίως ὀνομαζόμενος ροῦς", in Stephanus. "Fit et stomatice decoctis ramis ad eadem quae ex moris: sed efficacior admixto alumine . . . adspergitur pro sale opsoniis," Pliny, lib. XXIV, 54 f.

gesmagmen habentiu "amaricans." The especial meaning of "fig" has not survived here, though it unquestionably existed, as is proved by the OBulg. *smoky* "fig," which must have been derived from the German neighbors. It was its use as a condiment and delicacy that led to OHG. *smacjan*, *smecchan* "to taste, smell well," hence *smac*, AS. *smaec*, "gustus, sapor, dulcedo," Lith. *smaguriáuti* "to have a sweet tooth." As the Arabic developed the meanings "pure, sheer, unmixed," so OHG. *smehhar*, AS. *smicere* "elegans, delicatus, venustus," which ultimately leads to German *Schmuck*, *schmücken*, cannot possibly be separated from this group.

Soon after the conversion of the Arabs to Islam, they began to spread over Asia and to usurp the mercantile activity of the Syrians. In the eighth century Arabic merchant colonies existed in the Chinese emporiums, and Eastern wares once more reached the markets of Europe in large quantities. The sappanwood again made its appearance in the West, but the Arabic word for the same, **بَقَم** *baqam* and *baqqam*, indicates that it was mainly obtained from the Malabar coast, where it is of the finest quality,¹ and where it is named in the Dravidian languages by derivatives from *sapan-gum*, namely Malayalam *čappariñiam*, Canarese *sapañga-mara*. Throughout India the name for the sappanwood is derived, either from Arabic *baqqam*, namely, Hindustanee and Bengali (also Persian) *baqam*, *bakam*, Uriya *bokmo*, Telugu *bakamu*, *bakapu*, *bakánu-chekka*, *bukkapu-chekka*, or from Sanskrit *pattanga*, as Bengal. and Hind. *patang*, Tamil *pattanga*, *vattangi*, *vatteku*, *vartagi*, Marathi *pattanga*, Telugu *patanga-chekka*, Canarese *patanga-chekke*, Singhalese

¹ "It is of the finest quality in Malabar and Mergui," H. Drury, *The Useful Plants of India*, London 1873, p. 93.

patangi.¹ In Sanskrit the word is of modern origin, and an attempt at a popular etymology was made in the form *patraṅga*, as though from *patra* "leaf" and *aṅga* "body," but it is obvious that that could not have been the origin for the name. The Malayalam *čappannam*, also pronounced *tsiapangum*,² shows that a form *tapangum*, *tapanga* served as the basis for Sanskrit *pataṅga*, and this was by the Arabs taken over as *bakang*, *baqqam*, which makes it plausible that Telugu *bakamu*, *bukkapu*, etc., are older than the Arabic, and the basis of the Arabic forms.

It was not merely its dyeing quality which recommended it for exportation, but also its enormous hardness, which made it a valuable wood for durable constructions,³ wherefore it was exported in beam or log form.⁴ It became the typical wood of importation, and the word was soon applied to a great variety of trees. Steingass records *baqami bunafš* "campeachy or log-wood," *baqami qirmiz* "sapanwood," *buqum* "thornapple," while Dozy gives varieties of *baqqam* for "bois de fer, chandelle, bois de rose, bois de corail, campêche," while even Singhalese has *bakmī* "saccocephalus cordatus." It is clear that *baqqam* soon came to mean "imported logwood or beam," and as such it entered from the Arabic into Gothic.

The specifically Germanic word for "tree" is represented by Goth. *triu*. It occurs in the Gothic Bible for Gr. ξύλον, while *triweins* is the translation of ξύλινος. In the combination *weina-triu* it stands for

¹ G. Watt, *l. c.*

² H. Drury, *l. c.*

³ "Los de Bisayos en algunas partes, se sirven de la madera en lugar de hierro para hacer clavos, con que clavan sus embarcaciones, porque dicen que son incorruptibles," M. Blanco, *op. cit.*, p. 335 f. "The wood takes a fine polish and does not warp or crack," G. Watt, *l. c.*

⁴ "Es kommt in armdicken Stücken in den Handel, die ein bis 12 mm. starkes, weiches, glimmerartig glänzendes, blass röthlichgelbes Mark umschliessen," J. Wiesner, *l. c.*

ἄμπελος, and the plural of this renders ἀμπελών.¹ The ONorse *tre* has survived in Dan., Swed. *trä* and AS. *treow* lives in Eng. *tree*, but OHG. has almost completely lost the reminiscence of this Germanic word, for it possibly survived only in the names of a few native trees, such as OHG. *affoltra*, *wechaltar*, *mazultra*, *holantar*. Goth. *bagms* is, indeed, used several times for "tree," but more especially in the combinations *alewa-*, *baira-*, *peika-*, *smakka-bagms*. The last stands not only for *συχῆ* "figtree," but also for *συκομορέα* which, although rendered in Latin as *figus*, is in reality the Egyptian mulberry fig-tree. All four combinations refer to foreign trees. Obviously the new *bagms*, which in the Gothic Bible is still used by the side of *triu*, had very rapidly supplanted the older appellation on Frankish territory, while only feeble encroachments were made in the north, where developments of *bagms* preserved only specific meanings. In Anglo-Saxon, *beám* means "a splint, post, stock of a tree, beam, column, pillar, cross," while the connotation "tree," quite common in AS., did not survive in English, except in the word *hornbeam*. That *beám* originally meant "hard wood in log form" is well brought out in a passage in a medical work, "Nim ælces treówcynnes dæl būtan heardan *beáman*, take from every kind of tree, but the hard-wood." This word is still more restricted in its use in ONorse, for here *baðmr* is only a poetic expression for "tree."

Thus it appears that Goth. *bagms* completely permeated the OHGerman, partially affected the Anglo-Saxon, but found no footing at all in the Scandinavian languages, except as a literary reminiscence. Now,

¹ "Managei miþ hairum jah *triwam*, cum eo turba cum gladiis et contis," Marc. XIV. 43, 48; "Kasa gulþeina jah silubreina ak jah *triweina*, vasa aurea et argentea, sed etiam lignea," Tim. II. 2.20; "ik im *weinatriu þata* sunjeino, ego sum vitis haec vera," Joh. XV. 1, 4; was satjip *weinatriwa*, quis plantat vitem," Cor. I. 9. 7.

phonetically there is no possibility of connecting Goth. *bagms*, OHG. *boum*, AS. *beám*, ON. *badmr*, except as borrowings from a non-Germanic language. But Goth. *bagms* is the precise rendering of Arabic *baqqam*, and the other Germanic forms are obviously corruptions of the same word.

II

The investigations carried on in this volume make it clear that the Arabic words which entered into the Gothic and from it into the other Germanic languages must to a great extent be due to the direct influence of the Gothic upon the sister tongues, through the acknowledged hegemony which the Gothic exercised among them even before. The Langobard, Salic and Bavarian laws owe much to the Visigothic Code, and after the dispersion of the Goths by the Arabs, they must have scattered among their Germanic kin, where they were gladly received, not only on account of their supposed superiority in the past, but also because they now brought with them the new learning and arts of the conquerors, the science of drainage and intensive agriculture, the new building methods just learned from the East, the Hindu and Greek medicine and mathematics, the commerce with the extreme East.

No wonder, then, that Alcuin should, in the beginning of the ninth century, have spoken of the Goths as a God-favored nation, and that Charlemagne should have considered it his chief duty, not only to favor the Goths by throwing open waste lands for their colonies, but also to combat their heresy, which was supported by the superior Gothic learning, by employing Alcuin, the most learned man of the time, in that struggle.

There cannot be any doubt but that the new caligraphic schools of France, which spread their influence

to Ireland and England, received their impetus from the Visigoths, and that Fleury, especially, became directly or indirectly a seminary of Gothic learning. But that was not the only centre where the Arabico-Gothic culture had a chance to influence the nations of the north.

About the middle of the eighth century drainage canals were laid out in the north of Italy, and this was accomplished either by Arabs or by Arabicized Goths. Apparently about the same time a Gothic church was established at Ravenna, where the Goths preserved the Spanish tradition, but under the influence of the Greek church. This is evidenced by the Gothic calendar and the Greek synaxaries, which have both kept the memory, though much corrupted, of the Gothic martyrdom at Cordoba, during the incursion of the Arabs.

The large number of Spanish works of the ninth and tenth centuries which have been found in Northern Italy bear witness to the influence of the Visigoths in Italy, which must have begun in the eighth century. It is for this reason that a number of Gothic manuscripts have been preserved at Bobbio and Milan. No doubt the *Codex Brixianus* and the Gothic Bible are due to the antiquarian activity of the Goths which brought a new light, not only into theological studies, but also into the classics. I shall later show that a large number of interpolations in various authors, especially Jornandes, are due to the new spirit of antiquarian studies.

Unfortunately, these also opened the doors to forgeries, of which a large number was perpetrated, not only in Italy, but also elsewhere. In the present volume I discuss the forgery of the Ravenna document, and I also show how an Arabic tradition found its way into the preface of the Langobard laws and into Paulus

Diaconus, in order to become the basis of Germanic mythology. The chief object of my future studies will be to detect similar forgeries, not only by the Goths, but also by others who, like Virgilius Maro, the Grammarian, were infatuated with the Romantic spirit of the new Arabico-Gothic culture.

About 760 the Goths were exerting such an influence upon the Monastery of St. Gall that the old geographical denominations began to give way to the new Arabico-Gothic words, which the Teutons considered with the same respect in which Latin had been held before. Very soon these new names spread up along the Rhine, and a similar influence, at first only in words relating to the drainage of the swamps, may be observed from the middle of the seventies, in the region controlled by King Offa. In the ninth century these appellations increase greatly in number, and some of them enter permanently into the composition of the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary.

Another and more important activity developed at St. Gall was the formation of vocabularies, apparently intended at first as glosses of Biblical texts. These glosses are based on Arabico-Gothic glosses, of the type mentioned in the introduction to the *Codex Brixianus* as *vulthres*. The St. Gall monks, as a rule, transformed these glosses so as to give them a Germanic aspect, but that was not universally the case. It would seem that much of the instruction may have been received from Gothic teachers *viva voce*, which would explain the sound shifting at once. I pointed out twenty years ago that the second sound shifting is not of historic, but of geographic, origin, and that untutored men without any premeditation made the changes on the spot.¹ These Gothic glosses immedi-

¹ *German Loan-words and the Second Sound Shifting*, in *Modern Language Notes* 1895, p. 10 ff.

ately found their way to England, where a mania for vocabularies developed, just as on the continent.

The chief contribution of the Goths to Europe is their mediation of Arabic learning and literature. The national consciousness of the Teutons and the Romance peoples was roused by this new influence, and the native tongues began to develop and flourish. The tonic versification and rhyme on a universal scale, and not sporadically as in Latin, sweeps the old metric versification out of existence, and the modern times have their birth.

Such, in broad outlines, are the conclusions to which my discovery points. It is too early to give a complete and satisfactory account of the Gothic renaissance. Long, patient work has to be done, and from that path of unprejudiced inquiry I must not swerve, no matter how much the carping critics may ask for these definite proofs which they themselves cannot furnish. If, instead of shouting at me *Fiat experimentum in corpore vili*, the scholars will lend a helping hand, the whole problem may soon be settled. If not, I shall myself continue to labor undismayed until the truth has been ascertained.

VIRGILIUS MARO, THE GRAMMARIAN

One of the queerest, and yet one of the most important, authors of the Middle Ages is he who called himself Virgilius Maro the third.¹ In his *Epitomes* and *Letters* he claimed to lay down the rules of Latin grammar, but these are seldom in keeping with what belongs to the classical tongue, and he has introduced a large variety of terms, some of them arbitrarily formed from Latin and Greek roots, others again which have completely baffled all the scholars as to their origin and purport. They did not seem to belong to any known language and have been ascribed to the author's fantastic imagination. The author himself has been proclaimed a mountebank and the creator of a secret language.

Virgilius Maro was certainly of questionable veracity in so far as the genuineness of his references is concerned, and there is not a particle of truth in any of his historical data. The classical authors whom he claims to quote, such as Terence, Cato, Cicero, Horace, etc., never could have said the things they were supposed to say, and others again, such as Glengus, Galbungus, Aeneas, Gergesus, never had any existence, except in the grammarian's imagination. The improbability of his account is too obvious to need any discussion. Aeneas, according to him, lived two hundred years, while Donatus lived one thousand years. Virgil the second wrote seventy-two volumes on metre, and Gregory the Egyptian composed three thousand books on Greek history. Latin words are

¹ J. Huemer, *Virgilio Maronis grammatici Opera*, Lipsiae 1886. See W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, Berlin 1905, vol. I, p. 199 ff.

quoted with an accent on the ultimate syllable, and words like *rassam*, *rauc*, *samia*, *sarap*, *cyron*, *trasso*, *sarium* are given as interjections and prepositions. His rules of prosody cannot be found in any writer before him, and some of his statements are insoluble riddles.

Yet, with all that, the grammarian's work is of great value, since it betrays the first definite influence of Arabic learning upon the West. The very style of the work is such as is found in many Arabic writers, and the Arabic scholar will not fail to recognize the fact at a glance. For our purposes two *Epitomes*, the twelfth, *De catalogo grammaticorum*, and the fourth, *De metris*, are of especial value, because the two harbor a large number of Arabic words and expressions, thus definitely placing the work in the eighth century, and the latter shows the important influence of Arabic metre upon the rhymed poetry of the Romance, Celtic, and Germanic languages.

The *Epitome* on the Catalogue of the Grammarians runs as follows:

"So the first was a certain old man, Donatus, at Troy, who, they say, lived a thousand years. When he came to Romulus, by whom Rome was founded, he was received by him most kindly. Here he remained four successive years, founding a school and leaving behind him innumerable works in which he proposed problems, saying: 'Who is that woman, o son, who offers her innumerable children her breasts in which they are drowned to the extent to which they are suckled?' That is wisdom. 'What is the difference between *uerbum*, *sermo*, *sententia*, *loquela*, and *oratio*?' *Uerbum* is everything enunciated by the tongue and voice; but *sermo* is composed of two words, of *sero* and *moneo*; *sententia* is what is conceived by the *sense*; again *loquela*, when the order is arranged with a certain

eloquence of diction; *oratio*, when the *sermo*, worked out by the art of hand, is for the first time *orated*.

“There was also at Troy a certain Virgil, the hearer of that very Donatus, who was very diligent in the description of verses, and who wrote seventy-two volumes about the value of the metre, and sent a letter to Virgilius Assianus about the explanation of the verb. The third Virgil *am I*.

“For Virgilius Assianus was the disciple of the above, a man attending upon holy men, so that the speech of one calling him never found him in his seat. I saw him with my eyes, and, while I was a boy, he wrote out the signs for me. He wrote a noble book of the twelve latinities which he called by these names. ‘The first,’ he said, ‘is the *usitata*, which is in common use in Roman eloquence, and in which the Roman writings are *atramentated*, that is, written.

“II. *assena*, that is, notarial, which is satisfied with but one letter for a whole sound, and is represented by certain formulæ.

“III. *semedia*, that is, neither entirely unused, nor entirely used, as *mota gelus*, that is *mons altus*, and *gilmola* for *gula*.

“IV. *numerosa*, which has its own numbers, as *nim* one, *dun* two, *tor* three, *quir* four, *quan* five, *ses* six, *sem* seven, *onx* eight, *amin* nine, *ple* ten, which is so said from plenitude; and thus *nimple* eleven, up to *plasin* twenty, and *torlasin* thirty, and *quir lasin* forty, up to *bectan* hundred, and arrives at *colephin* thousand, and the rest.

“V. *metrofia*, that is, intellectual, as they say *abat*, that is, beginning; *sade*, that is, justice; *gno*, usefulness; *bora*, that is, courage; *ter*, that is, conjugal duality; *rfoph*, that is, veneration; *bropts*, that is, piety; *rihph*, that is, hilarity; *gal*, that is, reign; *fkal*, that is, religion; *clitps*, that is, nobility; *mymos* dignity; *fann*,

that is, recognition; *ulio*, that is, honor; *gabpal*, that is, obsequiousness; *blagth*, that is, sunshine; *merc*, that is, rain; *pal*, day and night; *gatrþ*, that is, peace; *biun*, that is, water and fire; *spax*, longevity.

“VI. *lumbrosa*, that is, very long, when for one in use a whole verse is written, of which these are examples: *gabitariu cum bresin galsiste ion*, that is, to read; again: *nebesium almigero pater panniba*, that is, life.

“VII. *sincolla*, that is, very short, vice versa, when a whole customary verse is contained in one word, of which the examples are such as: *gears*, that is, gather morals, love the good; again: *biro*, that is, it is not useful to leave the parents.

“VIII. *belsauia*, that is, perverse, when the case of nouns transmutes the modes of verbs, of which these are examples: *lex hoc* is *legibus*, and *legibus hoc* is *lex*, and *rogo hoc* is *rogate*, and *rogant hoc* is *rogo*.

“IX. *presina*, that is, spacious, when one word signifies many usual ones, as *sur*, that is, either field, or eunuch, or sword, or river.

“X. *militana*, that is, multifarious, as when for one usual word several are placed, as for running: *gammon*, *sualin*, *selon*, *rabath*.

“XI. *spela*, that is, most humble, which always speaks of terrestrial things, as *sabon*, that is, hare; *gabul*, that is, fox; *gariga*, that is, crane; *lena*, that is, hen. Ursinus used these.

“XII. *polema*, that is, supreme, which deals with superior beings, as *alippha* for soul, *spiridon* for spirit; *repota* for certain superior virtues; *sanamiana anus* for a certain unity of the high God. In this manner this man always spoke.

“Virgilius Assianus, a certain firstborn among the Cappadocians, was a very sweet man, well versed in the physical sciences and most sagacious in the computation of the moon and months. He told his scho-

lastics who asked about the thunder that it was the spirit of an unused wind which intonated in the world at given times and whose sound thundered, whose nature was thus that it applied itself only to human uses, which had not so much a spiramen, as a fulgorean flame, which he asserted penetrated the highest of all winds and the lowest of all things, which, when I asked whether this wind was ruled by its own command or by another's, he picked up a small sheet of paper and made four poetic verses, speaking as follows:

summa in summis.

potens caelis

celsaque cuncta

gubernat celsa;

that is, the God of the Jews.

"Istrius, a Spaniard, in the composition of histories of fairly splendid eloquence, gave me a certain simile, saying: 'In testimony the word takes the place of the sun, for, as the day is not ruddy without the sun, so the testimony is not lucid without the word.' He said: 'Know, o King, just as your handmaid has shared this common life with you, so you will share the same death with me.' Again a question: 'O miser, why do heaven, earth, and sea bear you gifts, and you do not bear gifts to your neighbor?' Again: 'As a fish that in the sea devours all that comes in its way, yet cannot be satiated, so the miser's mind may not be satiated in a whole century.' So much Istrius.

"There was in Egypt Gregorius, a man much devoted to Greek studies, who wrote three thousand books of Greek histories. There was in Nicomedia Balapsidus, lately demised, who, at my request, turned into Latin the books of our law, which I hear in the Greek speech, the books of which the beginning is: 'In the beginning the Spirit fosters deeply the heaven, and the earth, the sea and all the stars.'

“There were, besides, three Lucani, one in Arabia, another in India, a third in Africa, whom my Aeneas had as teachers, whose books he transferred into clear writing by means of the art of shorthand, in which he found that a certain Maro lived about the time of the flood, whose wisdom no ages will be able to tell. Then Aeneas, when he saw how ingenious I was, told me to be called by that name, saying: ‘This my son will be called Maro, because in him the spirit of old Maro has come to life.’ My grandfather was Martulis, a very learned man and clear of countenance. He was most diligent in the art of grammar. O friends and students, it will suffice to have indicated to you these excerpts from the books of the ancestral laws for the use and health of all the readers.”

It is not possible to reconstruct all the strange words in this *Epitome*, because they have come down in very corrupt texts, and because we have here some real Arabic words and others which are due to the grammarian's fanciful conceit. It is clear that the author had before him some Arabic treatise in a Hebrew form, or, what is more likely, an Arabic treatise written with Hebrew characters by a Jew. That the original composition was by a Jew is proved, not only by the identification of the thunder with the Jewish God and the reference to our “law,” which Balapsidus was supposed to have rendered into Latin, but also by the constant reference to Hebrew grammatical forms.¹ The author was in all likelihood a Christian, if anything may be deduced from his mentioning presbyters, and addressing the letters to a deacon. That he lived in Gaul, may be inferred from his speaking of the Gauls as “ours.”² His acquaintance with Arabic thought

¹ See Huemer, *op. cit.*, in the *Index nominum*, sub *Hebrei*.

² “Unde et multi nostrorum maxime Gallorum . . . opinantur, . . . sic etiam in quibusdam Gallorum nostrorum scriptis inuenimus,” *ibid.*, p. 137.

makes it more than plausible that he lived in the south of France and may have been a Visigoth. The latter seems to be strengthened by the possible occurrence of a Gothic word in *Epitome* VII., namely, we have the phrase "in quadam epistola ad me *zandu* misa,"¹ in which *zandu* is totally incomprehensible and superfluous. Apparently it is the Gothic *sandjan* "to send," a repetition of Latin "missa."

II. *assena* is the Arab. *سنة* *simat*, from Gr. *σημα*, "sign, mark, token." The reference is here to the notarial signs or to tironian notes standing in the place of words.

III. As it is not clear what is meant by words not entirely unused nor entirely used, it is not safe to try to identify the word *semedia*.

IV. The exceedingly corrupt text of this paragraph is fortunately made clear by a passage in the *Ars geometrica*,² which is ascribed to Boetius, but which in reality could not have been composed before the end of the eighth century, at least as regards the reference to the Arabic numerals. In speaking of the abacus, this work gives the earliest known signs of the Arabic numerals, while a representation of the abacus itself³ has above the numerals the following legends:

	Text e (XI. cent.)	n (XII. cent.)	n ₁ (X. cent.)	n ₂ (XII. cent.)	n ₃ (XIII. cent.)
1	<i>igin</i>	<i>igin</i>	<i>imin</i> (?)	<i>igin</i>	<i>igun</i> (?)
2	<i>andras</i>	<i>andras</i>	<i>andras</i>	<i>andras</i>	<i>audras</i>
3	<i>ormis</i>	<i>ormis</i>	<i>ormis</i>	<i>ormis</i>	<i>ormis</i>
4	<i>arbas</i>	<i>arbas</i>	<i>arbas</i>	<i>arbas</i>	<i>arbas</i>
5	<i>quinas</i>	<i>quinas</i>	<i>q'ons</i> (?)	<i>quisnas</i> (?)	<i>ainnas</i> (?)
6	<i>calctis</i>	<i>calctis</i>	<i>caltris</i> (?)	<i>calens</i>	<i>caltis</i>
7	<i>zenis</i>	<i>zenis</i>	<i>zenis</i>	<i>tenis</i>	<i>zenis</i>
8	<i>temenias</i>	<i>temeinas</i>	<i>temeinas</i>	<i>zemenias</i>	<i>zemeinas</i>
9	<i>celentis</i>	<i>celentis</i>	<i>scelentis</i>	<i>celienis</i> (?)	<i>scelentis</i>
0	<i>sipos</i>	<i>sipos</i>		<i>sipos</i>	<i>sipro</i>

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

² Edition of Godofredus Friedlein, Lipsiae 1867, p. 372 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, plate opposite p. 396.

Here the Arabic values are recognized at a glance in the case of 4, which is Arab. اربع 'arba' "four," of 5, from Arab. خمس hams "five," of 8, from Arab. ثماني samānī "eight," of 0, from Arab. صفر sifr "empty,"

from which are derived Eng. *cipher* and *zero*. The corresponding values in Virgilius Maro are obvious deteriorations of those in Boetius. In the latter manuscripts it is not easy to distinguish between *a* and *q*, hence while 5 appears here as *quan*, corresponding closely to *quinas*, 4 is corrupted into *quir*, instead of *arbas*. The shorter forms in Virgil arose from an older text, resembling or identical with Boetius, in which the final *s* is a mere stroke above the line, while the numerals themselves are divided into two or three parts, so as to crowd them in within the columns of the abacus. Thus text n runs as follows:

ig	an	or	ar	qui	calc	ze	tem	ce	si
in	dra ^s	mis	bas	nas	tis	nis	e in as	len tis	pos

In text n, the value for 0 is written *sipo*, a contraction for *sipro*. If this were written, as in text n, in two parts, the second, *po* (pro), would at once explain the form *ple* of Virgil. We can now easily determine some of the other corruptions. 3 is rendered in Virgil by *tor*, 30 by *torlasin*, for which one text reads *orasin*. In

Arabic ثلاث *ṣalaṣa* is "he divided into three" and ثلاثين

ṣalāṣīn, *ṭalāṭīn*, "thirty." Obviously *torasin* is derived from this, even as *tor*, *or*, which in Boetius appears as *ormis* is similarly corrupted from *ṣalaṣa*. *Ses* "six" of Virgil and *caltis* of Boetius have both arisen from Arab. ست *sitt*, even as *sem* "seven" of Virgil and *zenis*

have evolved out of Arab. سبع *sab* "seven." *Onx* "eight" in Virgil has very likely arisen from *einās*, the second and third syllables of *temeinās* in text n. It is not apparent how the corruptions for "one, two, nine" and "one hundred" in either work may have originated, but *colephin* "one thousand" in Virgil is obviously Arab. ألف *alfun* "one thousand."

V. Here we have a complete proof that the grammarian was acquainted with Arabic logic or philology, for not only are several words easily identified, but the classification *metrofia* is the Arab. متعارف *muṭa'āraf* "known by conventional usage," a term applied to language. I have been able to identify some of the words in this category: "dicantabat, id est principium" should be read "dicant abat, id est principium," where *abat* is Arab. بدء *baḍ'* "beginning;" *sade* "justice" is Arab. صدق *ṣaḍq* "truth, sincerity;" *gno* "usefulness" is Arab. غناء *ganā'* "usefulness;" *bora* "courage," is, probably, from Arab. برء *bara'a* "to surpass in courage;" *mymos* "dignity" is found in Chaldaic נִימּוּס *nīmūs*, from Gr. νόμος, "order, dignity;" *ulio* "honor" is from Arab. على *ula* or علوية *ulwiyah* "sublimity." The other words are so corrupt that it would take considerable time to puzzle out the correct forms.

VI. Since we have here glosses of words, it is not safe to guess at the meaning of the sentences, but *nebesium* apparently is Arab. نفس *nafsun* "the soul."

VII. Here we obviously have a series of words represented by their initials read together, hence it is very likely that *sincolla* is Gr. *συχολλαῖν* "to glue together."

VIII. *belsauia* "perverse" is apparently Arab. *بلا صائب* *bilā ṣā'ibin* "without right, wrong."

IX. *presina* "spacious" is, no doubt, derived from Arab. *فرش* *faraša* "to spread out;" *sur* or, as one MS. reads, *usur*, is Arab. *حضور* *ḥaṣūr* "eunuch;" *حصر* *ḥaṣṭr*, plur. *حصير* *ḥuṣur*, has also the meanings "the surface of the ground, water, the diversified streaks of a sword."

X. *militana*. I am not able to identify this word, which means synonym, but it is quite obvious that the words for "running" are the Arab. *جري* *ḡaryun* "to run," *سيل* *sailun* "to flow, run," *سيال* *sayālun* "flowing, running much," *ركض* *rakada* "he ran." The misspellings *gammon* for *ḡaryun*, and *rabath* for *rakad* are apparently due to a misreading of the Hebrew *רָבַח* as *נָמַן* and *רבת* for *רבת*.

XI. *spela* "most humble" is Arab. *سفل* *safil* "low, ignoble, base." I recognize only *gariga* "crane," which is from Arab. *غرنیق* *ḡirnīq* "crane."

XII. *polema*. Here the classification refers to abstract words, hence it is likely that *polema* stands for *kalama*, from Arab. *كلام* *kalām* "metaphysical," as in

علم الكلام “metaphysics, philosophic or scholastic theology.” This, too, would have arisen from a misreading of the Hebrew, where it is hard to distinguish between **נ** and **נ**.¹

Unfortunately we possess no Arabic grammatical treatise previous to Sibawaihi's, hence it is impossible to ascertain from what grammar Virgil got his information, but of his paraphrasing some Arabic grammar not the slightest doubt can be entertained. The coincidence of a large number of words and grammatical terms, and the complete reproduction of the Arabic synonyms and homonyms make the borrowing from an Arabic source an absolute certainty. We now pass over to the chapter on metres.

“The composition of the metres is of various kind. Indeed, all of them do not refer to the same order, nature, number, and end, yet every one of the singers must know this much that metres are expressed in every imaginable way (*metra in quacumque pensatura fona sint*). *Metre* has received its name from *meta*, whose feet are called certain halves of words, so to speak, which, for the sake of singing, have so been disposed by the poets that, being transferred in the ultimate part of the word to the next, no word remains whole, hence no plain metre can be found. On account of the arbitrariness of the poets and rhetoricians, their sects speak of many metred cantilenes, some of them *in prose*, some *lined*, some *mederian*, some *over extensive*,² of which we shall explain a few for your use. *In prose* by brevity are, as is read in Aeneas:

Phoebus surgit, caelum scandit,
polo claret, cunctis paret.

¹ This hint, and a few others, I owe to the sagacity of Dr. H. A. Wolfson, of Harvard University.

² “Quaedam enim *prosa*, quaedam *liniata*, quaedam etiam *mederia*, nonnulla perquam *extensa* ponuntur.”

“These two verses have eight metres, the first metre is *Phoebus*, the second *surgit*, and thus through the other words; and thus these two collected are based on sixteen feet. All prose verses must end in a spondee, and this should be known that among all the feet the dactyl and spondee are the principal ones.

“*Mederian* verses must be neither prose nor lined, as is usual more for the modulation of songs than the demand of reason, as Varro sings:

Festa dium sollemnia
pupla per canam conpita,
quorum fistilla modela
poli persultant sidera.

“Now, to measure by metres: the first verse is of three metres, of which the first are weighed in spondee, and the two following in dactyls, as *festā* I, *dium sol* II, *lemnia* III, and thus through the four equally balanced verses you will find twice six metres and thirty-two feet.

“The *lined* verses must always be measured by five metres, according to that poem of Cato, the most elegant rhetorician:

Bella consurgunt poli praesentis sub fine,
precae temnuntur senum suetae doctrinae.
Regis dolosi fouent dolosos tyrannos,
dium cultura molos neglecta per annos.

In these verses the first is a spondee and the third, too, is a spondee, the other three are dactyls, and they have fifty-two feet.

“*Over extensive* verses, by a certain ornate but irrational circuit, reach up to as high as twelve metres, as Lupus, the Christian, says:

Veritas vera,
aequitas aequa,
largitas lauta,
fiditas fida
diurnos dies tranquilla
tenent tempora.

But this verse, by the necessary addition of a word, as I think, has the unusual number of thirteen metres, whose feet are thirty-three. There are some who add triphoned and quadriphoned verses, which is not to be derogated, since a certain liberty of making up one's own verses has by our ancient ones been given to the poets; but no absolute faith is to be placed in them, because, supported by no authority of wise singers, they have desired to follow more what was permitted than the example. Don, brother germane of my disciple Donatus, put up a canticle of two verses in praise of Arcas, the king of the Archades, saying:

Archadius rex terrificus,
laudabilis laude dignissimus.

And Gergesus, in his commentaries, which he published in seven mighty (?) volumes about the sun, the moon, the stars, and especially, the arch of heaven, has very frequently made use of quadriphoned verses, of which I shall use the one placed in the beginning for the sake of an example. He says:

Sol maximus mundi lucifer
omnia aëra inlustrat pariter.

“It is not necessary for me to examine the order of those verses (since they are put here, not to serve as a certain authority, but to illustrate the varieties of poetic songs), especially since any one who wishes to scan them, may easily do so. Some say that in every step of two feet the first is raised and the second lowered, or, to explain it, I am supposed more correctly to say *légit, ágit, núbit, uádit*; but we say, what we consider to be right, that we find the second feet raised not less than the first, as *egó, amó, docé, audí*.

“This diversity has chiefly been devised on account of the varied meanings of similar words, lest some confusion may arise. Thus we say in the nominative case *sédes*, with an accent on the first, while, if it is a

verb, we raise the second foot and say *sedés*; thus, if *réges* is said, the first is raised, but if the verb *regés*, the second foot is raised,—which we do not for any reason of metre, but according to the need of the distinction; just as in the imperative *póne* we sharpen the first syllable and suppress the second, and, on the contrary, if it is an adverb or preposition, the second is sharpened and the first suppressed. Even so certain kinds of poems, although they seem to be extraordinary, are often usurped by the rhetoricians and aestheticians, according to the allurements of their wills, such as are the cantaments and cantatels which Sagillius the German (?) and Vitellius make most use of. The latter has introduced a cantament in the very proem of the book written about the sea and the moon, saying:

Mare et luna concurrunt una
uice altante temporum gande,

while the first, in praise of his wife, *Matrona*, has introduced a very charming cantatel, in which he says thus:

Mea, mea *Matrona*, tuum amplector soma,
nobis anima una heret aquae arctura."

In addition to the verses found here and in the fifteenth *Epitome*, there are a few scattered throughout his writings, such as:

Glebae gignunt,
fruges ferunt (p. 77),
Mores colligite,
bona diligite (p. 90),
Participium generis omnis omne
tam ex uerbo quam etiam ex nomine
comparatium rectogradum trahit iure:
sed et superlatium eodem receptat more
(p. 165),
Lau . contemptus pecuniae
da . in omni molimine

bi . per amorem philosophiae
lis . menti fiet perite (p. 80),
Nostras omnis familia
nostrates quoque pecora
euadant inminentia
hostilium pericula (p. 126),
Limo solubili
lympha meabili,
igne ardibili,
aura mutabili,
mundus uisibilis
sumptus initiis,
cuius terribilis
pendit tristities (p. 151).¹

Not the slightest reliance is to be placed on Virgil's discussion. There is no more sense in his division of the verses than there is in his distinction between *pône* and *poné*, or *réges* and *regés*. He attempts to coördinate his accent metres with the Greek and Latin versification, hence he speaks of spondees and of dactyls, which are not at all represented in his lines, or, if they are, they have nothing whatsoever to do with his versification. It is perfectly clear that Virgil had before him an Arabic treatise on metre, from which he chose *all the names of the metres and the versification*, without, however, paying the slightest attention to the correct rendering of the Arabic system. He caught perfectly the spirit of the new rules, without bothering himself about the details.

The codification of the Arabic rhyming laws is ascribed to Khalil ben-Ahmed, who was born in 718 and died in 791. He divided all the metres into fifteen

¹ Paul Lejay, *Le grammairien Virgile et les rythmes latins* (*Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, vol. XIX, p. 45 ff.), finds even more verses in Virgil, but they are doubtful and add nothing to the subject.

classes,¹ of which one is called طویل *tāwīl* "the long," another, مديد *maḍīd* "the extended," a third, مدار *muḍāri* "the similar." These three Virgil quotes by name, the first two in translation, the third in a Latin transliteration as *mederia*. There is, probably, no direct relation between the structure of Virgil's verses and those of Khalil, because Virgil only wanted to shine with his new classification, but it may be that close study may reveal some kind of organic connection.

To us the most interesting division is what Virgil calls *prose*, which, as he shows, consists in an internal rhyme in the line, such that the middle and the end have the same syllable. The word *prose* is the translation of Arab. سجع *saġ* "rhyming speech or language, rhyming prose, a highly artificial style of prose-language characterized by a kind of rhythm as well as rhyme," etc. I. Goldziher² has shown that at the end of the second Mohammedan century, that is, at the end of the ninth Christian century, the *saġ* made its appearance in Arabic in prose, after it had already been employed in the Koran and in charms and exorcisms.³ This *saġ* consists merely in rhyming periodic sentences, without any metric scheme. The oldest metrical scheme of Arabic poetry is the so-called رجز *raġaz*, in which the briefer subdivisions of the line rhyme with each other, and not merely the whole lines, as is the case with more artificial poetry.⁴

¹ See, G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, p. 127 ff.

² *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896, p. 66 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

If we examine the *prose* of Virgil, we find that

Phoebus surgit, caelum scandit

is of the type $\overset{'}{u} | \overset{'}{u} | \overset{'}{u} | \overset{'}{u} |$, which is identical with one of the varieties of the *rağaz*

$-\bar{u}^u-$,

which Guyard¹ reads tonically $- | \overset{'}{u} \overset{'}{u} \overset{'}{u} |$, whereas in the Latin it corresponds to $\overset{'}{u} \bar{u} | \overset{'}{u} - |$. But this does not indicate a difference, since nothing is known of the tonic accent in the Arabic poetry, while Virgil pays but slight attention to the lengths of feet, and obviously bases his poems on the tonic measures, which unquestionably were already strongly marked in the Arabic. The analogy need not be complete, since Virgil is not an exact exponent of the Arabic *laws*, but only of the Arabic *practice* of versification.

The Arabs themselves were not at all in agreement as to the nature of their metric verses, for, while they considered a *rağaz* as consisting of long and short syllables, of three or six measures, they also admitted that it could be "reduced to a single hemistich, and also to two feet instead of six, so called because it commences with a motion and a quiescence, followed by a motion and a quiescence,"² that is, that it was composed in the precise manner of Virgil's *prose*. Now,

رجز *rağaza* not only means "he said, spoke, uttered *rağaz* verses," but also "he made consecutive sounds," hence رجز *riğz* means "consecutiveness of motions,"

even as رجز *rağaz* means "consecutive motion in the hind leg of the thighs of a camel," from which the versification may have received its name. Therefore, if *sağ* is more properly "prose," *rağaz*, the schematized

¹ S. Guyard, *Théorie nouvelle de la métrique arabe*, Paris 1877, p. 247.

² See Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon, sub *rağaza*.

saġ‘, really means “sequence.” Originally, then, *prose* and *sequence*, as referred to the Arabic poetry, are almost identical at the points where they meet.

It is clear that Virgil was acquainted with Khalil’s versification, and with the Arabic grammatical, or logical, subdivisions, as they were known in the eighth century. As Khalil was born in 718, it is not likely that his metric system was in vogue before 750. Hence Virgil Maro cannot possibly have lived before the second half of the eighth century. Heretofore he has been placed in the sixth century, in order to account for the rhyme and tonic versification which is already found in some of Aldhelm’s poems and in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, which are supposed to have been written at the end of the seventh century, and because it was assumed that Aldhelm knew and quoted Virgil. It can, however, be shown, that all such poems by Aldhelm are spurious or interpolated, and that the *Antiphonary of Bangor* was written not earlier than at the end of the eighth century.

To a letter which Aldhelm is supposed to have written to an unknown Ehfrid,¹ and which is ascribed to the year 686-690, there are appended five lines of verse, of which the first is:

“Digna fiat fante Glingio: gurgo fugax fambulo,” which is obviously a quotation from Virgil’s second letter, “uerumtamen ne in illud Glengi incedam, quod cuidam conflictum fugienti dicere fidenter ausus est *gurgo inquit fugax fambulo dignus est.*”² There never existed a Glengus, except in Virgil’s imagination, and as Virgil could not have written before 750, Aldhelm’s verse is certainly spurious. But the whole letter is a base forgery, due to one acquainted with Virgil and with Hisperic diction³. The endless alliterations, such

¹ MGH., *Auctorum antiquissimorum*, vol. XV, p. 488 ff.

² Huemer, *op. cit.*, p. 121. See L. Traube, in *Hermes*, vol. XXIV, p. 648.

³ See next chapter.

as in the beginning of the letter, "primitus pantorum procerum praetorumque pio potissimum paternoque praesertim privilegio panagericum poemataque passim prosatori sub polo promulgantes," and the Greek and contorted words¹ which are common to all Hisperic writings, are at variance with the other letters of Aldhelm and with his prose. All the codices in which the letter is recorded are derived from a tenth century codex,² although the *Carmen de Virginitate*, to which it is attached, is extant in one eighth and several ninth century codices. The Hisperic language of this letter is so much like the language of the charters of King Athelstan, which are recorded in the Malmesbury Register, that it may safely be assumed that it owes its origin to the same man who wrote the latter, or to the same school of writers.

We have seen that Virgil received his instruction in the Arabic versification through a Jewish medium. Now, at the beginning of the new Jewish synagogal poetry stands Kalir, who has been variously located from the seventh to the tenth century, but who unquestionably did not write before 760, since his versification is extremely like that of Virgil and is ultimately based on the Arabic. The *Piyutim*, or rhyming poets, of whom Kalir is a prototype, employed a style which is an exact reproduction of the Hisperic language. "The peculiarities of the piyutistic style may be reduced to the following three: 1) words and expressions taken from the Talmud, Midrash, and Targum; 2) irregular flexions, unusual syntax, neoformations; 3) peculiarities of style and quaint expressions."³ More than two hundred synagogal poems are ascribed to Kalir, and they show that the metrical scheme of the Arabs was either not understood or was purposely neglected

¹ See the list in *MGH.*, *op. cit.*, p. 487 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 488.

³ Zunz, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1855, p. 117 ff.

for the more artificial Arabic schemes of alliteration and rhyme, with a leaning towards a tonic accent.

The rhyme in Kalir is either monorhyme or occurs in sets of two, three, four, or more lines, but the stressed syllables do not always rhyme. It is only the last two letters that remain the same, with the intermediate vowel point generally of the same quality. The later poets, for example Gabirol, add the vowel preceding the first consonant to the rhyme, but in Kalir this is only exceptionally the case. The number of syllables in the lines is only approximately the same, and the tonic accent, which can be divined from the number of stressed words, is also only approximately the same. The resemblance to Virgil's prosodic method and still more to the Hisperic songs is very striking.

The acrostic is generally alphabetic, but there are also such as contain the author's name, the place of his residence, and some imprecation. Kalir, from whom the Jewish poetry, which corresponds to our Hisperic poetry, has been called Kaliric by the ancient writers, is not the name of the author, but is assumed to be that of his father, because the acrostic reads אֵלְעָזָר בִּירְבִי קָלִיר, which has been explained as meaning Eleazar, the son of Kalir, because בִּירְבִי is taken to be a lengthening of בִּיר by the addition of רְבִי, so that the whole would mean "Eleazar, the son of the master Kalir." But Kalir, or rather Qalir, is not any known Jewish name, and it is more likely that the whole is to be taken in the sense of "Eleazar, the disciple of Master Qalir." It is true, later Piyutim have used בִּירְבִי apparently in the sense of "son," but we have no reason to assume that Kalir was arbitrary in adding the word *Rabbi* before the name. If this assumption is correct, we may proceed to the further assumption that *Qalir* is a corruption of *Khalil*, the name of the Arabic inventor or classifier of the new versification.

Just as it is certain that Virgil based his prosody on that of Khalil, the Piyutistic poetry is of the same type. Since Virgil received his instruction or inspiration from a Jewish intermediate author, there is only one recorded source from which he could have learned his versification, and that is Kalir. The later writers are already too regular in their verse structure to be considered as his teachers, and of earlier writers than Kalir we know absolutely nothing. The writing *Qalir* for *Khalil* would indicate that the name of the Arabic poet had reached the Piyut by hearsay and not from books or he may have changed the name quite arbitrarily, even as he has changed the writing and the flexion of hundreds of Hebrew words, simply to suit his fancy or in the spirit of the "scinderatio fonorum."

The assumption of a form *Qalir* for *Khalil* is made a certainty by a passage in Virgilius Maro, where he speaks of "*Galirius grammaticus nostri temporis.*"¹ There is no value to the statement ascribed to Galirius, but the fact that he mentions him as a grammarian of his time is significant in so far as he pretends to quote a contemporary author. Apparently Galirius was sufficiently known as a grammarian to be referred to in this manner. This again shows that Virgil Maro could not have lived before 750, by which time Khalil was 32 years old and so hardly as yet known as a grammarian. Indeed, it is more likely that Virgil Maro wrote ten or twenty years later, when Khalil's reputation must have become sufficiently well established in the Arabic world and to those who imitated Arabic literature.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

HISPERIC LITERATURE

I

The curious *Hisperica famina*, *Lorica*, *Rubisca*, and *Adelphus Adelpha* have formed the subject of much curiosity and learned discussion.¹ These poems are written in a mixture of outlandish and out-of-the-way Latin, hybrid Graeco-Latin, and Semitic words. A great number of the Latin words may be found in Aldhelm, some in Gildas and other early Christian writers, while the Graeco-Latin formations were not at all unusual, although not to such an alarming extent, in the Church Fathers. Occasionally the Fathers also indulged in hybrid Hebrew words, but never before had a large number of anatomical terms been employed in so brief a space.

This curious mixture is by the author of the longest poem named "Hisperic Speech." Where is Hisperia? In classical times either Italy or Spain were known as *Hesperia*, and even Isidore of Seville understood the word to refer to either country. The poem gives no clear indication that "hispericum" is really opposed to "ausonicum,"² but the considerable number of purely Spanish Latin words make it plausible that the writer distinguished between Italian and Spanish Latin. Geyer has shown³ that *celia*, *perna*, *robur* and *ilex* (for *quercus*), *manicipium*, which occur in the text, are specifically used in the Iberian peninsula.

¹ For the literature of this matter consult F. J. H. Jenkinson, *The Hisperica Famina*, Cambridge 1908, p. XXXIX ff, and H. Zimmer, *Nennius vindicatus*, Berlin 1893, p. 291 ff.

² A-text, in Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³ E. Wölfflin, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, vol. II., p. 263 ff.

However, the use of Spanish words does not yet indicate that the writer was a Spaniard or composed the poem in Spain. All that may be asserted is that the author stood under some kind of Spanish influence. The Echternach glosses¹ to the *Hisperica famina* show conclusively that they were copied from or by a Breton scribe, and the use of *gurpait* "fusam," *guparth* "remota," prove conclusively that at least the glosses could not have been composed before the end of the eighth century. Rhys² assumes that *gurpait*, for *gurpaith*, is an intensitive from Welsh *paith* "desertus, devastatus," while he finds in *guparth* a parallel to Eng. *apart*. But that is quite impossible. *Guparth* and *gurpait* are obviously the same word, which is not represented in any other Celtic language, but which is found in OFrench *gurpir*, *guepir*, etc., "to abandon." I have already shown that this is the Arab. *ḥarab* "in a state of ruin."³ Thus the glosses must have proceeded from Frankish territory, and, on account of the Breton association, from the neighborhood of Fleury.

The glosses are not of much younger date than the text itself, because of the considerable number of Arabic words in the *Hisperica famina*, the *Lorica*, and the *Rubisca*. Of these, the *Rubisca* has by far the best text, so far as the Semitic words are concerned, while the others have proceeded from an acquaintance with the *Rubisca* or with the source from which the latter itself drew its inspiration. In order more clearly to understand the Arabicisms, I shall give the *Rubisca*, with a plausible translation of its most puzzling gibberish.

¹ Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 35 ff., *Revue celtique*, vol. I, p. 346 ff.

² *Revue celtique*, vol. I, pp. 353 x 357.

³ *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents*, p. 65 ff.

II

RUBISCA

Parce domine digna narranti
indigna licet palam peccanti
pio affectu incumbit cui
conspectus timor ac tremor tui.

- 5 Amica aue habilis bonus
bipes fidenter funde te tuus
tugurii ante mis hic ingressus
rubisca rara est in aduentus.

- Bifax o ales anim abheri
10 nudiusque nismus tertius mei
modo quit quoquo tam uim aduerti
quam tis nedulam normam ingenii

- Cantricem ergo cantus ignaram
poeque tissam poemate tostam
15 antris musarum passim priuatam
pauperem preter fonen stridulam.

- Dictatricem quin immo communis
scurilem nexam uinclo amoris
procacem esus eque ardoris
20 petitricem necessitudinis.

E labiorum aliud atque
aliud soni superficie
fantem ut loquar tua cum pace
sum te compertus imo pectore.

II

RUBISCA

Spare, O Lord, him who tells worthy things,
however he may openly sin in an unworthy manner,
on whom, with pious effect, falls the sight,
fear, and awe of You.

5 Friendly bird, able, good biped, confidently
settle down,—your arrival at my tent,
O rare bunting, has long been
expected by me in advance.

Bifaced bird, since yesterday and the day
10 before I have observed the power of
my mood, whatever it might have been, and the
fair norm of your genius,—

The songstress that is ignorant of song,
And the poetess, bare of poetic diction,
15 forever deprived of the haunts of the muses,
and poverty-stricken, but for the stridulous voice;

The scurrilous dictatress, bound up
with me by a common bond of love,
eager for food and for drink,
20 beggar for things of necessity.

From the surface of your lips emitting
now this sound, now that, that I may
speak with your peace, I have with my
innermost heart discovered you.

25 Fer age mihi minima proles
tute tininea totam mortales
ciens solaris prope eis fores
epozizantes solitas sistres.

Garrulam proto piculam pinsam
30 brachen uibrante intro lizinam
michinis binis foris fumosam
sennisque spissis intus cum gilbam

Hiulusque forceps sio (*or sic*) ura cogit
hiuleumque qui de caladum hiscit
35 anhele fonis meatus currit
megalus morsus quo uelit nolit.,

Iaris sauris tam pectinatis
edenis duis auriculatis
hiruphin panta ros rubra ualuis
40 crustum septenis equiperatis.,

Kastis ambobus ceu bellico
nigrioribus spectu coruino
uaciniensi seu abiectico
ainis uitro neu nigerrimo.

45 Licet ambitu absque tautonum
superciliorum eque decorum
· ullum glebenis ferunt obtalmum
non sine tamen ferunt auium.

Mundi ceu fantur carsum roseum
50 olim gnostici gibboniferum
inter fistule uelut timpanum
plectrum buxinum mouens modulum.

25 Come now, tiny creature, safely
give all of you over to me, drawing
out of the doors of the houses
mortals to listen to your wonted strains.

At first vibrating briefly the garrulous,
30 sharp little tongue within, (the beak) without
black with its two nostrils,
yellow within with its serried teeth.

The open mouth safely emits what
sticks within the open throat,
35 where the channel of the breathing voice
runs and willy-nilly the big morsel.

With its black plumage so well groomed,
its two auriculated ears,
in front the head all red, adorned
40 with seven symmetric valves.

And with both chaste eyes blacker than
the bellicose raven glance
or the dusky Indian ebony
or the blackest of glass.

45 Indeed, they say the eyes of the birds are
without the ambience of supercilious lids,
nor are they, withal, without any decoration
on the eyebrows.

The world's scholars of old say that the rosy,
50 firebearing breast, like the boxwood plectrum
moving the modulus between
fife or tympanum,

Nedulos quibus humeros utre
 hinc inde eque gnuncte tam scanne
 55 plumaria tergora qua coste
 imisque turgunt tolte pennule.

O trinum unum inenarrabilem
 oque Deum inuestigabilem
 o artificem inscrutabilem
 60 amica tuta tui factorem

Puri nitoris nutu cum tota
 tis iugulum uterum peram (?pera)
 beccaque prosen dorso proluxa
 et anficuruo inuersum uersa.

65 Quadros bis bina tot podon pansas
 filis fidibus acubus equas
 limatis recta erasis strictas
 dactulos ergla aduncis trophas.

Rubisca rata redi de mane
 70 leta cum peblo pulpitum pete
 tropicos cantus incripta cane
 minus histrio mufdiane.

Sedata cuncta nunquam laboras
 eges uigilas nes nas nauigas
 75 molas colligis metis seminas
 cessa neleues questus uoculas.

Tuus monarchus per has ut fatur
 olimbrianus totum rimatur
 molosi rerum res dominatur
 80 bellique uigil cloca solatur (?sonatur).

Moves the fair shoulders by which the two rows
of united and broad ribs move the plumed
55 backs hither and thither where
from within rise the standing feathers.

O triune and one unutterable,
O God unsearchable,
O artificer inscrutable,
60 O maker of you, safe friend,

By the power of the pure light
(you move) your throat, belly, and chest(?),
and the tail with its back curved toward
the ground, and reversely turned up again,

65 The erect legs (showing) four
extended, straight, ungulated digits of the feet,
equal unto sharp, carven, curved
threads, chords, needles.

Rare bunting, come back in the morning,
70 Merry in your vestment come to the pulpit,
Sing less mysterious songs in the crypt,
O singer "may you be ransomed."

All satisfied you never work,
you suffer want, and wake, nor ply the ocean,
75 nor gather heaps, nor reap, nor sow,
seated you raise your lamenting cries.

Your ruler, as Olimbrianus says,
on account of this is all given to rhymes,
and the affairs of Molosus are dominated,
80 and the vigil bell of war is rung;

Uiam mecalbo se////nia sec//at
 porcelanusque legens exultat
 canellus nimphus iussa ministrat
 stabilis esto nil te disperdat.

- 85 X̄pi toi ih'u to theon
 pateronon (pateron) einon (? emon) kai to theon
 kikhes katholes sarcos soteron
 pneuma agion pantecrato (? ron).

- Ymniste pantes trinon tonethnon
 90 geon thalasson monon ypanon
 (.....) pragmanon kai ton inferon
 ymniste ionas istas eonon.

- Zain possia enbona ualde
 panta fecisti me quoque arte
 95 heros perhennis poli in arce
 misero mihi domine parce....,

L. 12 has *nedulam*, for which the gloss is "albam." *Nedulus* in l. 53 refers to shoulders, hence it is more likely that it means "fair-skinned." This is Arab.

نضر *nadura*, "it was, or became beautiful and bright," which, when it refers to the face, means "it was and became beautiful and fresh, or fine-skinned, so that the blood appeared through the skin." The confusion of *r* and *l*, in words taken from Arabic into Spanish, is of frequent occurrence, for example, in Span. *añil*, *añafil*, *aliacan*.

L. 30 has *lizinam*, glossed "linguam." The *Lorica* 39 has *liganam*, *lingam*, which in the Anglo-Saxon version¹ is translated by "tungan." Here borrowing

¹ O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft*, London 1864, vol. I, p. LXIX ff.

Mecalbo seeks the road to heaven,
 Porcelanus reading does exult,
 Canellus, the youth, carries out the command,—
 stay forever, may nothing take you off.

85 The God of Christ Jesus,
 the One Father and the God,
 the Saviour of the Catholic soul and the flesh,
 the Holy Ghost, the Omnipotent,

Praise, all of the three nations
 90 of the earth and the seas, the One of
 the heavenly things and of those below,
 praise unto eternity of eternity.

With this wisdom hast thou well and artfully
 made all these good things, and me also,
 95 perennial hero in the citadel of heaven,
 spare, O Lord, me, miserable one.

from Heb. *lošōn* is excluded. It could be only Syr. *lišānā* or Arab. *لسان lisān*. *Ligana* obviously arose from a confusion of *z* and AS. or Frankish *g*, which it resembles closely. It is not likely that Syr. *s* would have been rendered by *z*, while Arab. *س* is frequently changed into *z* in Spanish, as in Span. *zahora*, *azuda*, *zofra*.

L. 31 *michinis*, glossed “naribus.” The word is spelled *michina*, *micena*, *michyna* in the *Lorica*, and in the Anglo-Saxon version is translated by *naesdyrel* “nostril.” This is obviously a corruption of Arab.

منخر *minḥir* “nostril,” for which also the forms *manḥār*, *minḥār*, pl. *manāḥīr* are recorded. The nearest approach

to this in Hebrew is *nēḥīraīm* "nose," in Syriac, *naḥīra* "nose."

L. 32 *sennis* "dentibus" is found also in the *Lorica* and *Hisperica famina*. In the latter we also get several times the adjective *sennosus* "belonging to teeth." Here Arab. سن *sinn*, Heb. *šen*, Syr. *šinā* could equally serve as the basis for the word.

L. 34 *caladum* "uia qua cibi trahuntur." In the *Lorica* we have *cladum*, *chaladum*, which is in the AS. version translated "swiran," i. e., "neck." This is Arab. اقلاَد 'aqlāḍ "neck" (قلَد *qalaḍa* "he put around the neck"), which is a plural of اقلید 'iqlīḍ "key," which is clearly from Greek *κλεῖδες* "the clavicles." Arab. قَدَال *qaḍāl* "the back of the neck," Syr. *qēdālā* "the neck" are apparently corruptions of 'aqlāḍ.

L. 37 *iaris sauris* "pilis iacinc'tis," i. e., "black hair." I cannot determine *sauris*, unless it is Gr. *σαυρωτός*, given in Hesychius for ποίκιλος "many-colored." *Iarae* occurs in the *Lorica*, where the AS. word is *locc*, that is, "hair," or "lock." *Iarae* cannot possibly be a mistake for Arab. شعر *ša'r* or Heb. *še'ār* "hair," because the initial *i* is secured by the acrostic and because of the occurrence of the word in the *Hisperica famina*.

In Arabic مرعزي *mar 'azī* means "goat's wool." This is from Syr. 'amr 'iza¹ "wool of the goat," and was used early in the Middle Ages as a term for specially fine wool. In the form *lana merhazi* or *mathahaze* it

¹ S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter in Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 43 ff.

found its way into Latin works¹ as the equivalent for camlet. Although the use of fine goat hair was not entirely abandoned, the early Middle Ages are full of the prohibition of the mixture of sheep and goat hair or even of the use of the latter. This was due to the fact that at a very early date after the appearance of the Arabs in Spain, the introduction of the fine merino sheep from North Africa put the manufacture of cloth from goat hair completely in the background. Thus it happens that Arab. مخير *muḥayyar* "the best," from

خير *hair* "the best," which originally could have been applied only to the finest kind of goat hair, has come to mean a cheap kind of stuff from goats' hair, "*cilicii panni telaeve vilioris species, capripilium.*"² It is still preserved in Eng. *mohair* in the sense of "the hair of the Angora goat, fine camlet." But we have abundant proof that the shorter form *hair* was also used for stuffs from goats' hair. The oldest reference to (*sagia de*) *haira*, so far as I know, is from the ninth century.³ In Anglo-Saxon *hær*, *hêr* "hair," *hære* "hair-cloth, sackcloth," are recorded from the ninth century on, but at that early time it is the translation of *pilus*, which is more correctly "animal hair" and not "human hair." For the latter the more common word is *feax*, even as in OHG. *har* "hair," *hara* "hair-cloth," originally refers more especially to wool, because for "human hair" we have *vahs*. Similarly Gothic words *tagl* and *skuft* are used for "hair," while of *har* there is not a trace. It is obvious that *har* is not a specifically Germanic word, but is only used sporadically, even as it occurs in OFr. *haire* "a hair shirt worn for penance."

¹ See my *Economic History and Philology in Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. XXV, p. 258 ff.

² F. a Megnien Meninski, *Lexicon arabico-persico-turcicum*.

³ Ducange, sub *haira*.

It is, apparently, this Arab. *hair* that we get in *iaræ* "animal hair."

Neither Goth. *skuft* nor *tagl* are Germanic words originally, but are derived from the Arabic. *Skuft* occurs three times, invariably referring to Mary's wiping of Christ's feet with her hair, while *tagl* is used for "single hair, hair on the head, animal hair." *Skuft* is preserved in ONorse *skopt* "hair of the head," and the allied Germ. *schopf* "head of hair," ONorse *skufr* "tassel," while Goth. *tagl* is found in AS. *taegl* "tail," LGerm. *tagel* "a twisted scourge, or whip of thongs and ropes, a rope," Swed. *tagel* "horse hair of tail or mane," OHG. *zagal* "tail." The first is from Arab. سقف

saqf, pl. سقف *suquf* "long, or flaccid, or pendulous hair

(of the beard)," which in the form شعر مسقف *ša'r*

musaqfaf is recorded for "hair that is raised, and shaggy or disshevelled, or disordered," while the

second is دغل *ḍagl*, دخل *ḍaḥal* "tangled, luxuriant,

abundant, dense," دخل *ḍaḥl* "the forelocks of a horse."

This *ḍaḥal*, *ḍagl* should have given in Gothic *thagl* and not *tagl*, but the change of the consonant is, apparently,

due to such a phrase as كثير الدغل *kathīr aḍ-ḍagal*

"bushy."

L. 38 *edenis* "auribus." Arab. اذن *'adzn*, Syr. *udnā*, and even Heb. *ōzen* "ear" could equally well form the basis for the word. In all probability Arab. اذن *'adzīn* "ear" is the direct basis of the word.

L. 39 *hiruphin* "fronte." In Arab. حُرُوفٌ *hurūfun*

is "the lateral edges or projections," while حُرُوفُ الراس *harfā-ar-rā'si* is "the two lateral halves of the head." It is obvious from the context that the reference is to the seven meatuses which are all found in the two lateral halves of the head. *Hiruphin..ros* means "in the front lateral parts of the head." Now *hurūfun* has survived in AS. *hrōf* "roof," which is only sporadically represented in the Germanic languages, namely as ONorse *hróf* "shed in which boats are kept." *Ros* in the same line might belong to any of the three Semitic languages, but, from its association with *hiruphin*, is unquestionably Arab. رَأْس *rā's*.

L. 43 *abietico* is glossed "nomen ligni," hence, since the reference is to extreme blackness, is, no doubt, a corruption of *eb. indico*, that is "ebore indico."

Ainae of l. 44 is the Semitic word for "eye," Arab.

عَيْن *'aīn*. *Conae* of the *Lorica* and C-text of the

Hisperica famina is obviously a corruption of *ainae*. *Conae* has found its way into the Old High German glosses (Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. III, p. 430) and, in the corrupt form *coronas* and confused with "circle of the eye," into the Anglo-Saxon Glosses (Wright and Wülcker, cols. 157, 263, 290).

L. 45 *tautonum* is glossed "*palpebrarum*," that is, "eyelashes." This word occurs also in l. 48 of the *Lorica*, in the OHG. glosses (Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. III, p. 430, "*tautonibus ouer*") and in the AS. glosses (Wright and Wülcker, col. 157, "*tauco hringban daes eagan*," col. 290, "*tautones bruwa*"), and is recorded by Ducange as a gloss to Prudentius and from Papias and Pseudo-Isidore.

This is obviously based on a misunderstanding of Arabic *توت* *tūṭun* "mulberry," the medical name of an excrescence of the inner surface of the eyelid,¹ a translation of Gr. *μύρον*. *Tautones* occurs in the Latin *Affatim* glosses and elsewhere, apparently as one of the first Arabic words to get into the vocabularies.

L. 47 *glebenis* is, no doubt, Arab. *جبین* *ġabīn* "the part above the temple," *جبینان* *ġabīnān* "the side of the forehead from the part over against the place where the hair falls off, to the temple, on the right of the forehead, and on the left thereof; the two borders of the forehead, on either side thereof, in the part between the two eyebrows."

L. 49 *carsum* "uentrem." Also given in the *Lorica*. It is found in all the Semitic languages and here, no doubt, represents the Arab. *كرش* *kariš* "the stomach or maw."

L. 68 *ergla* "crura." It is the Arab. *رجل* *riġl*, pl. *ارجل* *'arġul* "leg," as is indicated by the prosthetic *e*, which is from the plural form. Similarly *trophas* "ungulas" is Arab. *طرف* *taraf*, "the extremity, end," *ااطراف* *'atrāf* "fingers." Syr. *terpā* has the meaning "sharp point, leaf, branch," but not "finger."

L. 72 *mufidiane* is not glossed, but the context shows that it is an adjective or participle defining "histrio," and, apparently, some word of praise. It

¹ See J. Hirschberg and J. Lippert, *Die Augenheilkunde des Ibn Sina*, Leipzig 1902, pp. 114, 172.

is most likely Arab مَفْدِي *mafḍiyun* "may such a one be ransomed."

III

That the language of the *Rubisca* is of the same type as Virgil's is shown by the use of the same words. Line 7 has "tugurii ante *mis* hic ingressus," where *mis* is obviously the genitive, for *mei*. Virgil says:¹ "Legimus flecti *mei* uel *mis*. quare hoc additur? hoc ita intellegendum, quia *mis* non dicitur nisi de ea re, quam mihi ab aliquo repromisam spero euenturam, *mei* autem de eo quod ad praesens possedeo."

L. 9 has *anim*, the second part of the word is to be found only in l. 11, *adueriti*. A more execrable tmesis is found in l. 14, *poeque. tissam*, for *poetissamque*. This poetic license is laid down by Virgil in a separate chapter, *De scindératione fonorum*, where he says that there are three causes for its use, to sharpen the wits of learning youth, to enhance the beauty of the diction, and to keep mystic knowledge.² If Virgil wrote in the nineteenth century he would be a symbolist, a veritable Baudelaire.

Ls. 16 and 35 *fone* "voice." Here we have the Greek form more correctly than in Virgil's *fonus*, which he employs an endless number of times. In the *Rubisca* we have a considerable number of Greek words, such as were not in use in classical Latin,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

² "Primus Aeneas apud nos fona scindere consuetus erat. quod cum ab eo diligentissime percunctarer, cur hoc faceret, o fili, inquit, ob tres causas fona finduntur: prima est, ut sagacitatem discipulorum nostrorum in inquirendis atque inueniendis his, quaeque obscura sunt, adprobemus. secunda est propter decorem aedificationemque eloquentiae. tertia ne mystica quaeque, et quae solis gnaris pandi debent, passim ab infimis ac stultis facile repperiantur, ne secundum antiquum sues gemmas calcant: etenim illi didicerint hanc sectam, non solum magistris nihil agent pietatis, nihil honoris reuerentiaeque independent, uerum etiam porcorum more ornatores suos laniabunt," *op. cit.*, p. 76.

epozizantes(?), *brachen*, *megalus*, *panta*, *obtalmus*, *prosgen*, *podon*, and the whole of the last two verses but one. Virgil similarly employs *anthropeanus*, *epita* (ἐπειτα), *soma*.

The author of the *Rubisca* is as clever in creating outlandish names as Virgil. Against Virgil's *Gergesus*, *Glengus*, *Galbungus*, we have *Olimbrianus*, *Molosus*, *Mecalbo*, *Porcelanus*, and *Canellus*.

The stanzas of four lines end in a monorhyme, which, however, is in an unstressed syllable and so is more nearly an assonance than a real rhyme. The last syllable is either a vowel, or a vowel and a consonant. It is only accident which turns such a tirade rhyme into a real one. *Inenarrabilem*, *inuestigabilem*, *inscrutabilem*, *mane*, *cane*, *mufidiane*, and *pectinatis*, *auriculatis*, *equiperatis* are mere chance rhymes, for the first is spoiled by *factorem*, the second by *pete*, the third by *ualuis*. Nor is it possible to construct a regular scheme for the measures. There are generally four accented words in a line, but they deteriorate to three and even two. The first stanza may be written tonically as follows:

/ U	/ U U	/ U U	/ U
U / U	/ U	/ U U	/ U
/ U U	/ U U	/ U	/ U
U / U	/ U U	/ U	/ U

But there is not much gained by such a schematization, because the verse is still too free and unsettled. All that can be said of the versification is that it is precisely of the kind as in Virgil and Kalir.

It can now be shown that the *Rubisca* is, indeed, based on Hisperic diction, that is, that it owes its origin to Visigoths, or their friends, who based their studies on the old Spanish writers and the new Arabic poetry.

Meyer has shown, beyond any possibility of doubt, that Germanic and Romance rhyme owes its origin to Semitic sources.¹ He also has pointed out the existence of tirade rhymes, that is, such in which only the last vowel, or vowel and consonant, is identical, in Commodian of the third and St. Augustine of the end of the fourth century, after which they do not occur again until the ninth century. The use of the tirade rhymes in Commodian and St. Augustine is unique, hence it becomes necessary to investigate their genuineness.

Commodian's verses consist of the *Instructiones* and the *Carmen apologeticum*, in all some 2000 lines, which have come down in codices of the eighth or later centuries. The genuineness of Commodian's works, at least of some of them, is attested by a reference to them in Gennadius, about the year 500, and in the Pseudo-Gelasius. While, in general, the rhythm is of a syllabic character, as clearly pointed out by Meyer, only the *Instructiones*, which consist of brief poems, are written in acrostic form, and all but three of these have no final rhyme. There would attach no particular suspicion to the three, II. 8, 27, 39, which end respectively in *e*, *i*,² *o*, if it were not for the fact that in the *Carmen apologeticum* we have at least an interpolation by a Goth. Commodian is supposed to have lived about 250 A. D., yet he tells prophetically of the sack of Rome by the Goths, and of the seizure of the senators.

“Ecce iam ianuam pulsat et cingitur ense,
Qui cito traiciet Gothis inrumpentibus amne.
Rex Apollyon erit cum ipsis, nomine dirus,
Qui persecutionem dissipet sanctorum in armis.

¹ W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, Berlin 1905, vol. I, p. 6, *et passim*.

² Two lines are imperfect here, and so the tirade rhyme may be a merest accident.

Pergit ad Romam cum multa milia gentis
 Decretoque Dei captiuat ex parte subactos.
 Multi senatorum tunc enim captiui deflebunt
 Et Deum caelorum blasphemant a barbaro uicti.
 Hi tamen gentiles pascunt Christianos ubique,
 Quos magis ut fratres requirunt gaudio pleni.
 Nam luxuriosos et idola uana colentes
 Persecuntur enim et senatum sub iugo mittunt.
 Haec mala percipiunt, qui sunt persecuti dilectos:
 Mensibus in quinque trucidantur isto sub hoste,"
 lines 809-822,¹

The whole passage seems to be a paraphrase of St. Augustine's account of the sack of Rome, for it is St. Augustine who points out that the Goths, though not Catholics, did not sacrifice to idols, but aided the Christians, while the conquered Romans blasphemed God. We have in the passage in St. Augustine the words *idola*, *blasphemare*, in precisely the same relation as in Commodian.² Again, the account of Commodian is garbled, for he speaks of sending the Roman senators under the yoke and of killing them, while St. Augustine distinctly says that the Goths did not act like the Gauls, who sent the senate under the yoke and killed them, but, on the contrary, spared the senators.³ Obviously the interpolator wrote a considerable time after the sack of Rome to have made such glaring mistakes. Orosius, too, refers to the

¹ B. Dombart, *Commodiani Carmina*, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, vol. XV, Vindobonae 1887.

² "Postea venerunt Gothi non sacrificantes, etsi fide christiana non Catholici, tamen idolis inimici, venerunt idolis adversantes, et ipsi ceperunt: vicerunt de idolis praesumentes, et perdita idola adhuc quaerentes. . . . Isti autem blasphematores, terrena sectantes, terrena desiderantes. . . . quid tenebunt?" *Sermo CV, Sancti Augustini Opera*, ed. Ord. S. Benedicti, vol. V, col. 785 f.

³ "Galli quidem trucidaverunt senatum. . . . Gothi vero tam multis senatoribus pepercerunt, ut magis mirum sit quod aliquos peremerunt," *De civitate Dei III*, cap. XXIX, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, col. 134.

Romans as idolaters and blasphemers,¹ but we have nowhere such a close resemblance to Commodian, as in St. Augustine. It is, therefore, most plausible that the interpolation was made by one favorably inclined to the Goths, most likely by a Goth himself. It is not easy to locate this forgery in time or place, but from the fact that in Commodian there occurs the word *ostare* "to put off, ward off," which is found only on Frankish territory, it is extremely likely that the interpolation was made in the eighth century and in France or the Provence. In any case, since Commodian's works have not come down in any contemporary text, it is not safe to draw any conclusion from the five dozen tirade rhymes among two thousand lines. They may be due to a late corrector.

Still less may we depend on the tirade rhymes in St. Augustine. St. Augustine distinctly says that the abecedarian psalms of eight syllable lines were also in use in Latin and Punic, although not with that perfection as in Hebrew.² He also tells in his *Retractationes* (lib. I, cap. XX) that he composed an abecedarian psalm against the Donatists, which is not written in any metric scheme so as to have the liberty of choosing any common words.³ Had St. Augustine really ac-

¹ C. Zangemeister, *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, in *CSEL.*, vol. V, p. 540 (VII. 37): "pagani blasphemantesque Romani."

² "Quod autem de alphabeto hebraeo, ubi octoni versus singulis subjacent litteris, atque ita Psalmus totus contextitur, nihil dixi, non sit mirum, quoniam nihil quod ad istum proprie pertineret inveni: non enim solus habet has litteras. Illud sane sciant qui hoc in graeca et latina scriptura, quoniam non illic servatum est, invenire non possunt, omnes octonos versus in hebraicis codicibus ab ea quae illis praeponitur, littera incipere; sicut nobis ab eis qui illas noverunt litteras, indicatum est. Quod multo diligentius factum est, quam nostri vel latine vel punice, quos abecedarios vocant psalmos, facere consueverunt. Non enim omnes versus donec claudatur periodus, sed solos primos ad eadem littera incipiunt, quam praeponunt," *Enarratio in psalmum CXVIII*, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, col. 1945 f.

³ "Volens etiam causam Donatistarum ad ipsius humillimi vulgi et omnino imperitorum atque idiotarum notitiam pervenire, et eorum quantum fieri posset per nos inhaerere memoriae, Psalmum qui eis cantaretur, per latinis litteras feci: sed usque ad V litteram. Tales autem abecedarios appellant. Tres vero ultimas omisi; sed pro eis novissimum quasi epilogum

complished the unusual feat of writing 267 lines with the same tirade rhyme, he would not have failed to mention the fact here, where he goes out of the way to explain that he did not want to be hampered by any rhythm. If the Hebrew rhymes, as he says, were more perfect, how does it happen that he employs a more difficult rhyme than practised in Hebrew? The codices containing the *Psalmus contra partem Donati* are none earlier than of the twelfth century, all of which are corrupt.¹ We possess a large number of abecedarian hymns from the fourth century on, by Hilarius, Sedulius, Bede, Paulinus,² but not a single one of them has tirade rhymes. Had these authors known anything about such rhymes in Hebrew or Punic, or in St. Augustine, they could not have failed to use them. The total absence of such rhymes before the ninth century is ominous.

On the other hand, we have the definite statement of Alvarus in the middle of the ninth century that young Spaniards were trained in Arabic literature, to the disadvantage of the church learning, and imitated the metric structure of Arabic poetry, adorning the verses by final vowel assonances, which was a peculiarity of Arabic poetry.³ One need only compare the

adjunxi, tanquam eos mater alloqueretur Ecclesia. Hypopsalma etiam quod responderetur, et procemium causae, quod nihilominus cantaretur, non sunt in ordine litterarum: earum quippe ordo incipit post procemium. Ideo autem non aliquo carminis genere id fieri volui, ne me necessitas metrica ad aliqua verba quae vulgo minus sunt usitata compelleret. Iste Psalmus sic incipit: 'Omnes qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum judicate'; quod ejus hypopsalma est," *ibid.*, vol. I, col. 67.

¹ M. Petschenig, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Scripta contra Donatistas*, pars I, in *CSEL.*, vol. LI, p. VIII.

² G. M. Dreves, *Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters*, in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. L., pp. 4, 6, 58, 98, 108, 148.

³ "Quis evangelico, quis prophetico quis Apostolico ustus tenetur amore? Nonne omnes Juvenes Christiani vultu decori, linguae disserti, habitu gestuque conspicui, gentilitia eruditione praeclari, Arabico eloquio sublimati, volumina Caldaeorum avidissime tractant, intentissime legunt, ardentissime disserunt, et ingenti studio congregantes, lata, constrictaque lingua laudando divulgant, Ecclesiasticam pulchritudinem ignorantes, et Ecclesiae flumina de paradiso manantia, quasi vilissima contemnentes.

strophe structure of the Koran with that of the Hebrew writings, to be convinced that the tirade rhyme is an exclusively Arabic, and not a universally Semitic, peculiarity.¹ In the Koran the tirade rhymes are irregular and bound by no metrical rules, the lines differing considerably in length; but in the later literary poems, they form an integral part of the prosody, and the poets revel in productions in which the final syllable runs through hundreds of lines.

Among the contemporaries of Alvarus the tirade rhymes were quite popular. We have them either of the *Rubisca* form, in which a number of lines end in the same vowel, or vowel plus consonant, or in the *Hisperica famina* form, where the assonance is only within the line, although the line is far more regular in structure than in the *Hisperica famina*.

Even before the arrival of the Arabs in Spain we have one Spanish author, by birth a Goth, who indulges in tirade rhymes, and that is Eugene, bishop of Toledo, who died in 657. The Latin hexameter, or any other long line with a caesura, is favorable for the arrangement of words in such a way that the defining adjective of a noun should end the half-line, while the noun itself stands at the end, or that two verbs of balancing clauses should appear in the same final position. Since the declensional and verbal

Heu pro dolor! linguam suam nesciunt Christiani, et linguam propriam non advertunt latini, ita ut omni Christi collegio vix inveniatur unus in milleno hominum numero, qui salutatorias fratri possit rationabiliter dirigere literas. Et reperitur absque numero multiplex turba, qui erudite Caldaicas verborum explicet pompas. Ita ut metricæ eruditiori ab ipsis gentibus carmine, et sublimiori pulchritudine, finales clausulas unius literæ coarctatione decorent, et juxta quod linguæ ipsius requirit idioma, quæ omnes vocales apices commata claudit et cola, rythmice, imo uti ipsis competit, metricæ universi alphabeti literæ per varias dictiones plurimas variantes uno fine constringuntur, vel simili apice," *España sagrada*, vol. XI, p. 274 f. The Caldaï mentioned in this passage are the Arabs themselves, as may be seen from the use of the word in Spanish *Chronicon Sebastiani*, of the same period, *España sagrada*, vol. XIII, p. 480 ff.

¹ See D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, Wien 1896, vol. II.

forms in such cases are similar or equal, a certain kind of rhyme is frequently almost unavoidable, hence in the Aeneid nearly one thousand such instances may be found. But this assonance is still far from being a rhyme, not even in the sense in which it occurs in the *Rubisca* or in Virgil the Grammarian, because in the hexameter the first word is accented, while the second is not. However, in such verses in which the two become accented, there arises a real rhyme. As a rule, the Latin authors have avoided such rhyming, but less careful authors have not been able to escape the natural desire to rhyme the half-lines.¹

Eugene was especially fond of such versification, and he stands out prominently as the earliest conscious rhyme-maker. No doubt his example aided greatly in the dissemination of the Arabic versification, because he prepared the way for the new requirement of prosody. But that is the only peculiarity in which he approaches the new method, which was introduced by the Arabs only half a century after his death. His versification is strictly metrical and he introduces neither Hisperic diction, nor any consistently carried out rhyming system. His rhymes are conscious, indeed, but only incidental. If the opportunity offers itself, he introduces a rhyme; if it demands too much of an effort, he goes without it.² As an example of his method I adduce his *Carmen Philomelaicum* on account of its bearing upon the *Rubisca*.

¹ See M. Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*, Stuttgart 1891, in the vocabulary, under *Reim*.

² It was José Amador de los Rios who in chapter IX and chapter XI of his *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, had discussed the Spanish tendency for rhyming which made its first appearance in Eugene's poems. W. Meyer seems to be totally unconscious of the fact that all his discoveries in regard to the Spanish versification have long been anticipated by Amador de los Rios.

ITEM CARMEN PHILOMELAICUM

- Vox, philomela, tua cantus edicere cogit,
 inde tui laudem rustica lingua canit.
 vox, philomela, tua citharas in carmine vincit
 et superat miris musica flabra modis.
- 5 vox, philomela, tua curarum semina pellit,
 recreat et blandis anxia corda sonis.
 florea rura colis, herboso caespite gaudes,
 frondibus arboreis pignera parva foves.
 cantibus ecce tuis recrepant arbusta canoris,
- 10 consonat ipsa suis frondea silva comis.
 iudice me cygnus et garrula cedat hirundo,
 cedat et inlustri psittacus ore tibi.
 nulla tuos umquam cantus imitabitur ales,
 murmure namque tuo dulcia mella fluunt.
- 15 dic ergo tremulos lingua vibrante susurros
 et suavi liquidum gutture pange melos.
 porrige dulcisonas attentis auribus escas;
 nolo tacere velis, nolo tacere velis.
 gloria summa tibi, laus et benedictio, Christe,
- 20 qui praestas famulis haec bona grata tuis.¹

Lines 4, 6, 10, 12, 18, 20 form complete rhymes, while lines, 9, 15, 17 have the same endings. Possibly *colis gaudes* of line 7 and *tibi Christe* of line 19 may be considered as impure rhyme; we still have 8 lines out of 20, or 10 out of 20, if the impure rhymes be not counted in, that have no rhyme whatever. The end rhymes of lines 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7, 8 and 9, 10 and 15, 16 are purely accidental, as they are comparatively rare in his other poems. Thus, the most favorable for end rhymes, *Lamentum de adventu propriae senectutis*, has less than one third of possible end rhymes, while other poems have still less.

I have so far assumed that Eugene's poems as they have come down to us are genuine, but that is by no

¹ MGH., *Auctores antiquissimi*, vol. XIV, p. 254.

means certain. Seventy-two poems have already been declared spurious or doubtful, while we possess no MS. codex earlier than the end of the eighth century. Indeed, most of the poems are reported from ninth and tenth century codices, and No. 26, the only poem from which a considerable quotation in an epitaph of the end of the seventh century may be dated, contains but one single rhyme, obviously an accidental one, in 14 lines. The early mediaeval scholars were so much given to changing texts, as certain German scholars would put it, "to normalizing texts," that we are never absolutely sure that we have before us the *ipsissima verba* of the original author.

It is assumed that Nos. 2, 5, 9, 13, 33, 39, 55, 70, 79, 86, 88, were certainly written by Eugene, because lines from these are quoted by Julian of Toledo in the seventh century,¹ but it can be shown conclusively that the *Ars poetica* could not have been written by Julian, and that at least one of the poems quoted by him could not have been composed by Eugene. This poem, in which Eugene claims to imitate the timeses of Lucilius, who is quoted by the old grammarians, is so much in the manner of Virgil's *De scindératione fonorum*, that this alone would make the authorship of Eugene doubtful.

ITEM AD IOHANNEM

- O. IO-versiculos nexos quia despicias-HANNES,
 excipe DI-sollers si nosti iungere-VISOS.
 cerne CA-pascentes dumoso in litore-MELOS.
 et POR-triticea verrentes germina-CELLOS.
 5 AR-sitibunda petunt lympharum pocula-MENTA.
 atque BV-glandiferae recubant sub tegmine-
 BVLCI.
 nunc PAS-lanigeras ducunt ad pascua-TORES.
 et FE-consumunt fraudantes munera-TVRAE.
 PRO-tibi ut nostro veniat ex carmine-FECTVS,
 10 instar Lucili cogor disrumpere versus.²

¹ *Ibid.*, p. XLIII.

² *Ibid.*, p. 262.

The poet speaks of camels grazing on the bushy shore. But there were no camels in Spain before the arrival of the Arabs, and of their presence there after that we are informed in a document of the year 959.¹ We have two apparent references to camels before the Arabic invasion. One occurs in a *Life of Eligius*,² but this Life is a Carolingian forgery.³ The second time camels are mentioned is in Julian's own History of Wamba's reign. There can be no doubt of Julian's writing such a History, but there is also not the slightest doubt that the one before us has been tampered with in the eighth or ninth century. The oldest MS. known is of the end of the ninth century,⁴ but that was destroyed by fire. Julian tells of the disgrace heaped upon certain rioters by being carried through the city with shaven heads, beardless, bare-foot, in squalid dresses, and on carts. The latter was done in order that they might be seen from a distance.⁵

¹ "Solutis vero jam annis multis, scilicet circa discurrentem nongentesimum nonagesimum septimum, iterum venit Rex Garsias Sancionis, causa visendi locum et Fratres. Videns vero Abbatem et fratres inermes non posse defendere terminos, quos dederat loco; posuit tale decretum super terminum, ut si non fuisset transiitione unius diei vel noctis, aut si non fuisset per bonam voluntatem Abbatis vel Fratrum, nullus praesumeret in totum illum terminum intrare vel pascere, neque tentorium pecorum figere: quod si aliter fecissent, haberent inibi habitantes potestatem occidendi vaccas, porcos, camelos, sine ulla dubitatione et sine ullo pleyto Regali." *Acta Sanctorum, May VII*, p. 64.

² "Unus ex famulis eius canuam, cum quo camelum onerarium secum semper ducere consueverat, subito perderet," *MGH., Scriptores merovingici*, vol. IV, p. 702.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 650.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 494.

⁵ "Et tamen, sub quo celebri triumpho regiam urbem intraverit, de inimicis exultans, explicare necesse est, ut, sicut ingentis eius gloriae signum saecula sequutura clamabunt, ita seditiosorum ignominia non excidat a memoria futurorum. Etenim quarto fere ab urbe regia miliario Paulus princeps tyrannidis vel ceteri incentores seditionum eius, decalvatis capitibus, abrasis barbis pedibusque nudatis, subsqualentibus veste vel habitu induti, camelorum vehiculis imponuntur. Rex ipse perditionis praeibat in capite, omni confusionis ignominia dignus et picea ex coreis laurea coronatus. Sequebatur deinde hunc regem suum longa deductione ordo suorum dispositus ministrorum, eisdem omnes quibus relatum est vehiculis insedentes eisdemque inlusionibus acti, hinc inde adstantibus populis, urbem intrantes. Nec enim ista sine dispensatione iusti iudicii Dei eisdem

Nearly all the texts read, "pedibusque nudatis subsqualentibus *veste vel habitu camelorum induti* vehiculis imponuntur." For some reason the editor sides with one text, which makes it appear that the rioters were carried on camel carts. There are no such carts, and possibly the editor had in mind camel saddles. If the latter is the case, the whole story is an addition from later times when the camel was already known. If the first is correct, then the passage may be Julian's, as camelhair garments was a familiar expression for rough apparel.

In the poem *Ad Iohannem* the reference is so distinctly to actual camels, who naturally would graze amidst brambles and thornbushes, that there is not the slightest possible chance of Eugene ever having written the poem. I think it is possible to ascertain who the Iohannes was of whom the poet speaks. Obviously he was a person of importance, if he could survey herds of camels as well as pigs and cattle. Now the document of the end of the tenth century, in which the camels are mentioned, is distinctly a repetition of another grant, for the abbey spoken of was established in the beginning of the eighth century. The first charter, which now no longer exists, was unquestionably given to Abbot John, who in the *Life of Voto* and *Felix* is mentioned as having died in 714,¹ but who, as the editor of the *Life* remarks, must have been alive after 714, since John is brought in in connection with the Arabic invasion of Aragon, which took place

accessisse credendum est, scilicet ut alta ac sublimia confusionis eorum fastigia vehiculorum edoceret sessio prae omnibus subiecta, et qui ultra humanum morem astu mentis excelsa petierant, excelsiores luerent consensionis suae iniuriam. Sint ergo haec insequuturis reposita saeculis, probis ad votum, improbis ad exemplum, fidelibus ad gaudium, infidis ad tormentum, ut utraque pars in contuitu quodam sese lectionis huius inspiciens, et quae rectis semitis graditur, prolapsionis casus effugiat, et quae iam cecidit, in horum se hic semper proscriptionibus recognoscat," *Ibid.*, p. 525 f.

¹ *AS.*, May VII, p. 60.

only in 716. It is, therefore, not impossible that during John the Hermit's lifetime the region was as noted for its pasturage of camels, cattle, and pigs, as it was in the tenth century. In any case the poem cannot have been written before the introduction of the camel by the Arabs.

W. Meyer has tried to prove that since the second half of the fourth century Latin prose was frequently written in rhythmic sentences, ending in rhyme.¹ He quotes passages from the writings of Pope Leo I, Cassiodorus, Julianus, Pomerius, and the 8th Synod of Toledo, to prove his contention. But his contention is fallacious, for the same reason that the quotation of Leonine rhymes is fallacious, because any periodic structure in Latin must be more or less in rhyme, and only the good writers would avoid it. One may find as many rhymes as one may wish in Cicero. It is true, the natural tendency of rhyming in Latin periodic prose received a particular aspect in Spain under the influence of the *saq'*, hence one of the very first Spanish writers under the Arabic rule, Isidor Pacensis, and still more, Cixila,² used the rhymed prose lavishly. It is important to observe that it was Spain where the natural Latin tendency for rhyming received its development in the middle of the eighth century. Though it is true, as Amador de los Rios³ and, after him, Meyer think, that rhyme was already known to the Romans, it is equally true that it was especially practiced in Spain and from there found its way to France and the other countries at a time when, through the influence of Arabic culture, tonic accent and *exclusive* rhyme had become universal among the Spanish writers.

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 270 ff.

² See Amador de los Rios, vol. II, p. 48 f.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. II, *Ilustracion I*, p. 303 ff.

We may now return to our *Carmen Philomelaicum*. It cannot be asserted that Eugene was its author, though that is not impossible. In any case the poem was considered public property, and we have at least two such songs which are ascribed to Albarus, who wrote in the middle of the ninth century:

INCIPIUNT VERSI. CARMEN PHILOMEL(AICUM)

- Vox, filomela, tua metrorum carmina vincit
 Et superat miris flamina magna modis.
 Vox, filomela, tua dulcis super organa pergit,
 Cantica nam suabe fulgide magna canit.
 5 Vox, philomela, tua superat sic gutture Musas,
 Ut citharas vincat sivila ter tua, ter.
 Sicque liras dulces cordarum pollice ductas
 Excellis mulcens, corda fobens hominum.
 Cedat omnigena, tivi vox quoque garrula cedat.
 10 Iudice me carmen fulgeat homne tuum.
 Nulla certe tivi equeter nunc cantibus ales:
 Et victrix hominum voce feras superum.
 Dic ergo varias blande modulamine voces
 Et funde solite gutture sepe melos.
 15 Porrige dulcissonum gaudenti pectore plectrum
 Et dulce tibias gutture elange sonans.
 Gloria summa deo dico per secula Christo,
 Qui nobis famulis gaudia tanta dedit.

ITEM ALIUM FILOMELAICUM CARMEN EIUSDEM

Dic, dic in es(ca mici, r)edde mici gutture can(tos)
 Et (modula) tremule: te requie(s sequitur)
 (Noctem) dulcescis, florem v(elut aura favoni)

- 5

 (Te voces vari)as tum decidente canendo
 (S)plen(det) mira dies nocte tenebra solans.

- Carmina lete tua rude crispare susurro
 10 Et laudes metricas excita, queso, tivi:
 Cantibus ecce tuis responsa poetica currunt
 Et certant vario te superare pede.
 Excute, pennegera, exalta sic carmina voce:
 Nolo timere velis, nolo tacere velis.
 15 Cedat homnigena, cedat vox garrula, cedat,
 Iudice me cedat organe flabra tivi.
 Prestrepe, plumigera, vincens sic facta priorum,
 Ut nostra pariter tuque noba superes.
 Gloria magna deo nostro, qui sede perenni
 20 Regnat perpetue nos pie, iuste fobens.¹

It will be observed that the two poems are very much in the style of the *Rubisca*, which appears as a kind of parody of the *Carmen Philomelaicum*. The last four lines of the first poem, beginning with "Raise the sweet-voiced plectrum with your joyous breast, and make the pipes resound with your sweet throat" are obviously of the same kind as the lines in the *Rubisca* which refer to the plectrum and pipes. Hence the *Rubisca* is ultimately of Spanish origin, even if we did not know this from the use of Hisperic words, the rhyme, and the Arabic borrowings. Although I cannot indicate the exact borrowing of the *Adelphus adelpha*, its Hisperic diction, its rhyme and its Arabic borrowings stamp it equally as ultimately of Spanish origin.

¹ MGH., *Poetae latini*, vol. III, p. 126 ff.

IV

Adelphus adelpha meter
 alle pilus hius tegater
 dedronte tonaliter.,

Blebomen agialus
 5 nicate dodrantibus
 sic mundi vita huius.

Calexomen dominum
 ut det bolen suum
 nobisque auxilium

10 Didaxon, sapisure,
 toto biblion acute
 non debes reticere.

Equinomicum epensum
 habemus apud deum
 15 si autumetimus audum

Fallax est vita mundi
 decidit ut flos feni
 permanet regnum dei.

Gibron prason agaton
 20 deuita artemathon
 ut sis fretus in Sion.

Hipagie de audo
 habita in chiriinomo
 ut sis heres in bapho.

IV

Brother, sister, mother,
father, friend, son, daughter,
are hurt mortally.

We see the saints—
5 thus is conquered to the dying
the life of this world.

We shall call the Lord,
that He may give His counsel
and aid to us.

10 Teach, O Master,
this book shrewdly,—
You must not keep silent.

A splendid crown
we have with God,
15 if we abandon evil,

False is the life of this world,
it decays as the flower of hay,—
the Kingdom of God remains.

Man, do what is good,
20 avoid what is unlawful,
that you may be aided in Sion.

Walk away from evil,
live in Christ's law,
that you may inherit paradise.

25 Indiximus est dei
qui semper seruiens ei.
et erit in sceptro poli.

Kalextratus mansie
in marttino tempore
30 deficit ut uiuolae.

Lamach est lemna adu
ubi amartus amentu
dusmi ictatur in luctu.

Metes hoc tetrex ad bethen
35 postquam transit integem
suma aporipsumen.

Notalgicus est gibra
et obtalmus ut talpha
non agens dei mandata.

40 Olla, toma, abia,
glableus in anchreta
bellantes defendit pelta.

Pile peson opera
quando fuerint placita
45 ut sis lesie incola.

Quirius apemon anamiasu
apolit agion autu
sison mehotheusmu.

Raxas est ciromerus
50 agonitheta frenumus
qui sine labe fit iustus.

25 The man of God is he
who always serves Him,
and he will be in the mansion of heaven.

The lover of this world,
in stormy time,
30 decays as the violet.

Vile is the man of hell,
where the sinner (?)
is tossed in the devil's sorrow.

Drunkenness is pernicious for life,
35 when it has passed into the earth,—
the body,—we shall see that.

Deaf is the man
and blind as a mole,
who does not God's commands.

40 God, Lord, Father,
the Galileans in chains
fighting He protects with the shield.

Friend, do the works
which are pleasing,
45 that you may be a dweller in heaven.

The Lord from us iniquity
destroys, us, His holy ones,—
save me, Oh my Lord.

Experienced is man,
50 a wise champion,
who without a fall is just.

Sarx est nostra alitur
cales postea agitur
malis luibus moritur.

55. Tamaxo inmente mea
minus idon interra
antrophum sine macula.

- Uonitue protenamomum
asarum nitentem adbamum
60 agtibaxetañ secum.

Xenodicium presules
breue integen habentes
achatarbam agiam agentes.

- & abiaproterion
65 suscepit periranton
pro redemptione antrophon.,

It is very difficult to ascertain the precise meaning of this poem, in spite of the copious Latin and Celtic notes in the St. Omer MS., because the text is obviously bad.

L. 2 *alle* is glossed "pater," hence it is certainly a corruption of *abia* (as in ls. 40 and 64), a Semitic word, not necessarily Arabic.

L. 3 *dedronte* has already been guessed as being Gr. τέτρωνται. *Tonaliter*, given in the St. Omer text as *tanaliter* and there glossed "mortaliter," also occurs in the Echternach glosses as *tona* "mortaliter" and as *tanaliter* in the charters of Athelstan. It has certainly nothing to do with Gr. θανεῖν, but is from Arab.

طن *tin* "last gasp of breath," طنى *tanan* "disease, death."

Our flesh is fed
by good acts, then is changed
and from evil pests dies.

- 55 I marvel in my mind
seeing upon earth few
men without blemish.

- Observe the first faithful,
the blessed one who brings to the altar
60 peace and friendship with him,

Who, residing in a hostelry,
has a short stay upon earth
and brings a holy sacrifice.

- And the Father receives
65 the cup of the passion
for men's redemption.

L. 15 *audum* "malum" repeated in l. 22, is Arab. اذى 'adzan "anything by which thou art annoyed, molested, harmed, or hurt; filthy, dirty," اذاه 'adzāh "a thing that is disagreeable, hateful, evil."

L. 19 *gibron* "homo," occurs again as *gibra* in l. 37, and in the *Lorica* and *Hisperica famina*. It may be from any Semitic language, but in none of them is the vocalisation the same as here. What makes it almost certain that it is Arab. جبر 'gabrūn is the nominative ending -un which recurs in *gibron*.

L. 31 *lamach* is glossed by the Celtic *isel* "low, vile," and *lemna* by the Celtic *leh* "man." For the first, the St. Omer MS. reads *lamath*. This is Arab. لامة 'lāmāh

“anything blameworthy,” from لَام *lām* “to accuse of a vile disposition,” hence *la’āmah* “to be of a vile disposition, miserly,” *il’ām* “to represent one as vile, miserly,” *lāmmah* “malignant, threatening.” Cf. also الرُومَة *’alūmah* “lowness, baseness, vileness, meanness.”

Celtic *leh* is obviously the same as OFr. *lāech* “warrior, hero,” but, since OBreton *leeces* means “woman,” *leh* must stand for Latin *vir* “man.” I cannot ascertain the precise meaning of the word or its origin.

L. 34 *bethen* “animam.” If the sentence really means “Drink kills . . .,” then *bethen* more likely means “the body,” and then it is very likely Arab.

بطن *batn* “belly, the inside, interior.”

L. 40 *Olla* “deus” is Arab. الله *allah* “God.”

Neither Syr. *īl*, nor Heb. *ēlohim* can be considered as the basis for the word.

L. 58 *amomum* “fidelis” is clearly Arab. مومن *mūmin* “faithful, believer.”

L. 59 *asarum* “beatum” is Arab. اشر *’ašar* “happy.”

There may be even more Arabic words in the text, but they are so corruptly written that it is not safe to venture a guess at them. Thus, for example, *achatarbam* of l. 63 is given in the Cambridge University Library MS. as *acarbam anxiam*, hence it is likely that we have here Arab. قربن *qarban* “sacrifice,” but that is only a guess. *Adbamum* of l. 59 is glossed “ad altum,” which, apparently, should be “ad altare.” If this is correct, we have here Gr. βωμός. *Agtribaxetañ*

of l. 60, which is glossed "pax et amicitia," is apparently equal to "agentem pax et am(icitiam)." In any case, the large number of genuine Arabic words contained in the poem show conclusively that it could not have been written before the end of the eighth century.

V

The *Lorica* has come in for a good deal of attention on the part of scholars who were anxious to prove its antiquity and its Celtic origin. It runs as follows:¹

¹ I give the text from H. Williams' *Gildae De excidio Britanniae*, London 1901, part II, p. 304 ff., with Mr. Williams' translation.

LORICA

- Suffragare trinitatis unitas
unitatis miserere trinitas;
Suffragare quaeso, mihi possito
magni maris velut in periculo,
5 ut non secum trahat me mortalitas
huius anni, neque mundi vanitas.
Et hoc idem peto a sublimibus
celestis milite virtutibus,
ne me linquant lacerandum hostibus,
10 sed defendant me iam armis fortibus;
Ut me illi praecedant in acie
celestis exercitus militie,
Cerubin et cerupihin cum milibus
Gabrihel et Michael cum similibus.
15 Opto tronos, virtutes, archangelos,
principatus, potestates, angelos,
ut m(e) denso defendentes agmine
inimicos valent prosternere.
Dum deinde ceteros agonetetas
20 patriarchas quatuor, quater profetas,
apostolos navis Christi proretas,
et martires omnes peto athletas,
atque adiuro et virgines omnes,
viduas fideles et confessores.
25 Uti me per illos salus sepiat,
atque omne malum a me pereat.

THE LORICA

- Help unity of trinity,
have pity trinity of unity;
Help me, I pray, thus placed
as in the peril of a great sea,
5 So that the plague of this year
draw me not with it, nor the vanity of the world.
And this very petition I make unto the high
powers of the heavenly warfare,
that they leave me not to be harried by enemies,
10 but defend me with their strong armour;
that, before me in the battle, go
those armies of the heavenly warfare,
Cherubim and Seraphim with their thousands,
Gabriel and Michael with like ones.
15 May thrones, powers, archangels,
principalities, dominions, angels,
defend me with their thick array,
and be strong to overthrow my enemies.
Then also the other arbiters of the strife—
20 patriarchs four, prophets four,
Apostles, watchmen of the ship of Christ,
and the athlete martyrs all—I ask,
And adjure also all virgins,
faithful widows, and confessors,
25 that safety compass me by them,
and every evil perish from me.

Christus mecum pactum firmum feriat
cuius tremor tetras turbas terreat.

Deus inpenetrabilis tutela
undique me defende potentia;
Mee gibre pernas omnes libera
35 tuta pelta protegente singula,
ut non (t)etri demones in latera
mea vibrent ut soleant iacula.
Gigram cephalē cum iaris et conas
patham lignam senas atque micenas
40 cladum carsum mandianum talias
patma exugiam atque binas idumas
meo ergo cum capillis vertici
galea salutis esto capiti
fronti oculis cerebro triformi
45 rostro labio faciei timpori
mento barbae superciliis auribus
genis bucis internaso naribus
pupillis rotis palpebris tutonibus
gingis anele maxillis faucibus
50 dentibus linguae ori et guturi
uve gurgulioni et sublinguae cervici
capitali centro cartilagini
collo clemens adesto tutamini.

Domine esto LORICA tutissima,
erga membra erga mea viscera,
Ut retundas a me invisibiles
sudum clavos quos fingunt odibiles.
60 Tege ergo Deus forti loricea
cum scapulis humeros et bracia;
tege ulnas cum cubis et manibus
pugnās palmas digitos cum unguinibus
tege spinas et costas cum artibus
65 terga dorsum nervos cum ossibus;

May Christ make with me a strong covenant,
He whose terror scares away the foul throngs.

God the unconquerable guardian,
defend me on every side by thy power.

Free Thou all limbs of mine,

35 Thy safe shield protecting each,
so that the fell demons brandish not
against my sides, as is their wont, their darts.

Skull, head, hair and eyes,

forehead, tongue, teeth and their covering,

40 neck, breast, side, bowels,

waist, buttocks and both hands.

For the crown of my head with its hair,

be Thou the helmet of salvation on the head;

For forehead, eyes, triform brain,

45 nose, lip, face, temple,

For chin, beard, eye-brows, ears,

cheeks, lower cheeks, internasal, nostrils,

For the pupils, irides, eyelashes, eyelids,

chin, breathing, cheeks, jaws,

50 For teeth, tongue, mouth, throat,

uvula, windpipe, bottom of tongue, nape,

For the middle of the head, for cartilage,

neck—Thou kind One, be near for defence.

Lord be Thou safest lorica,

for my limbs, for my entrails,

that thou mayest thrust back from me the invisible
nails of stakes, which enemies fashion.

60 Cover, therefore, O God, with strong corslet,

along with shoulder blades, shoulders and arms.

Cover elbows with elbow-joints and hands,

fists, palms, fingers with their nails.

Cover back-bone and ribs with their joints,

65 hind-parts, back, nerves and bones.

- tege cutem sanguinem cum renibus
 catas crinas nates cum femoribus;
 tege gambas suras femoralia
 cum genuelis poplites et genua
 70 tege talos cum tibiis et calicibus
 crura pedes plantarum cum bassibus
 tege ramos concrecentes decies
 cum mentagris unges binos quinquies
 tege pectus ingulum pectusculum
 75 mamillas stomacum et umbilicum
 tege ventrem lumbos genitalia
 et alvum et cordis et vitalia
 tege trifidum iacor et ilia
 marcem reniculos fitrem cum obligia
 80 tege toliam toracem cum pulmone
 venas fibras fel cum bucliamine
 tege carnem inginem cum medullis
 ssplenem cum tortuosis intestinis
 tege vesicam adipem et pantes
 85 compaginum innumeros ordines
 tege pilos atque membra reliqua
 quorum forte praeterii nomina.
 Tege totum me cum quinque sensibus
 et cum decem fabrifactis foribus,
 90 utii a plantis usque ad verticem
 nullo membro foris intus egrotem;
 ne de meo posit vitam trudere
 pestis febris langor dolor corpore;
 Donec iam Deo dante seniam,
 95 et peccata mea bonis factis deleam,
 et de carne iens labis caream,
 et ad alta evolare valeam,
 et miserto Deo ad etheria
 letus vehar regni refrigeria.

Fin. it. Amen.

- Cover surface, blood and kidneys,
 haunches, buttocks with the thighs.
 Cover hams, calves, thighs,
 knee-caps, houghs and knees.
- 70 Cover ankles, shins and heels,
 legs, feet with the rests of the soles.
 Cover the branches that grow ten together,
 with the toes with the nails ten.
 Cover chest, its join, the little breast,
- 75 paps, stomach, navel.
 Cover belly, reins, genitals,
 and paunch, and vital parts also of the heart.
 Cover the triangular liver and fat,
 spleen, armpits with covering (?).
- 80 Cover stomach, chest with the lungs,
 veins, sinews, gall-bladder with
 Cover flesh, groin with the inner parts,
 spleen with the winding intestines.
 Cover bladder, fat and all
- 85 the numberless orders of joints.
 Cover hairs, and the rest of my limbs,
 whose names, may be, I have passed by.
 Cover me all in all with my five senses,
 and with the ten doors formed (for me),
- 90 so that, from my soles to the top of the head,
 in no member, without within, may I be sick;
 that, from my body, life be not cast out
 by plague, fever, weakness, suffering,
 Until, with the gift of old age from God,
- 95 I blot out my sins with good works;
 And, in departing from the flesh, be free from stain,
 and be able to fly to the heights,
 and, by the mercy of God, be borne in joy
 to the heavenly cool retreats of His kingdom.

The words which interest us are nearly all found in four successive lines:¹

Gygram cephalet cum iaris et conas
 Patham liganam sennas atque michinas
 Cladam crassum madianum talias
 Bathma exugiam atque binas idumas.

Gygram cephalet is glossed "hnoll heafudponnan," i.e., "the top of the skull," while the Irish gloss gives for *gigram* "the skull or top of the forehead." *Gigra*, *gugra* occurs in the B-text, l. 28 and l. 91, of the *Hisperica famina*. In the *Lorica* the combination *gigram cephalet* is identical with the Talmudic *qarqaf*, *qarqāf* "the skull," which is, in all probability, from Gr. *κορυφή* *τῆς κεφαλῆς*. In the Aramaic there are also the shortened forms *qarqaf*, *qarqā*, which correspond to Syr. *qarqaf* "cranium, vertex, cacumen," *qarqabta* "caput, cacumen montis," *qarqba* "cacumen montis," Arab. قرقف *qarqaf*

"the top, summit." The modern قرقوب *qarqab*, قرقوب *qurqūb*, جرجب *ǧurǧub* "belly," are, no doubt, of the same origin. Span. *corcoba* "hump" is undoubtedly from Arabic and shows that the underlying meaning is "bald elevation." *Gugra*, *gigra* is a corruption from the Semitic, and the juxta-position *gigra cephalet* makes it appear that the Hebrew is responsible for the form. But the Arabic قرقب may also have had a longer form, just as in the Talmud, and so it is not possible to give the precise origin of the word.

Madianum is in the AS. glossed as "sidan." This is, then, Arab. معد *ma'addun*, dual معدان *ma'adani*

¹ I quote them from Jenkinson's text. They are found in lines 33-36 of William's text.

“the side, or, in a horse, the part of each side between the lower portion of the shoulder-blade and the extremity of the ribs, consisting of thick and compact flesh behind the shoulder-blade.”

Talias is glossed “lendana,” while the Irish gloss has “entrails.” This is probably Arab. ضلع *dal*‘

“a rib,” ضلع *dalī* “something bent, like a rib.”

This is also found in the OHG. glosses (Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. III, p. 431, “*talias* lenden”).

Bathma, *batma* is in the AS. glossed “deeoh,” i. e., “thigh.” It is Arab. بَاد *bāḍḍun* “the inner side of the thigh,” بَادَان *bāḍḍāni* “the inner sides of the two thighs.” Also in the OHG. glosses (*l. c.*, *bathma* thioch), and in the AS. glosses (*o. c.*, col. 193, *bathma*, i. femora, peoh).

If *patham* is correctly glossed as “ondwlitan,” i. e., “face,” it must be Syr. *patha* “face, surface, chin,” for which there is no corresponding Arabic word.

If *exugiam* is correctly glossed “buttocks,” it is Arab.

عجز *aǧz*, *iǧz* “posteriors, buttocks.”

Iduma “hand” may be from any Semitic language, but is most likely Arab. يَد *yadun* “hand.” This word is also found in the *Hisperica famina* and in Athelstan’s charters.

There are several hymns, used as imprecations against evil spirits, that are called *lorica* “shield.”¹ All the Irish hymns of this kind are closely related to our *Lorica* and so need not be discussed further. The date of the composition of this poem has been ascer-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

tained from reference to a famine year, now as of the middle of the sixth, now as of the middle of the seventh century. But the presence of Arabic words makes either assumption impossible. Besides, this exorcistic poem is identical in spirit with two Spanish exorcisms, ascribed by some codices to Eugene of Toledo:

Inclite parentis alme Christe pignus unicus,
Membra, que labore fessa nunc repono lectulo,
Cerne mitis ac benignus atque clementissimus.

Tolle monstra, stringe fibras et soporem tempera,
Inprova ne, dum quiete pregravantur viscera,
Demonum fraude maligna sentiant piacula.

Celsa prorsus ingens ori fata laudum cantica
Extat mens celitus almi animo ferbentior:
Ingerat premium vite tempus noctis valide,

Ut per hoc noctis errorem devincam viriliter.
Expugnato ceruleo spiritu nequissimo
Miscar tuis cum amicis supernorum cibibus.

Indito crucis vexilo tue fortitudinis
Presigna tum cor et corpus aeternis oraculis,
Clipeo fideli gliscens inesse sub tegmine.

Increpet in te redemptor mille formis demonem,
Ut discedas nunc a nobis; ipse tibi imperet,
Procul ut effugiaris ab istis Christicolis.

Meminere enim debes penam tibi deditam:
Intuitus membra Christi time, fugam arripe;
Sitque nobis ipse Christus prestus ad custodia.

Confusus procul a nostro recedas cenobio,
Intuere nos munitos crucis signum valide,
Fuge prorsus, fuge, demon, esto tuis particeps,

Usque diem illum magnum verique iudicii:
Tunc sanctos, quos tu temptasti, coniungentur angelis,
Eris quoque tu damnatus in aeterno varatro.

Gloria carmen resonat patri atque filio,
Spiritu, quo semper extat coniuncta equalitas,
Qui cum deo patre (conpar) perfecta trinitas.

Imperat omnipotens: procul, o procul effuge, demon,
Ne fraude nostrum possis adire torum,
Ne somnium turbes nec mortis vincla ministres,
Ne fallax animam sordides ipse meam.
Crucis alme fero signum: fuge, demon.

Hic pater et verbum vel sanctus spiritus adsit,
Unus ubique deus celsus et omnipotens,
Lubricus inc anguis fugiat in Tartara preceps,
Torum ne noceat rite dicat deo.
Crucis alme (fero signum: fuge, demon).

Sit celle dominus sanctus, sit mente [pie] benignus,
Ut placeat Christo, fulgeat (ut) merito.
Exorcidio vos, omnes demonum fantasma,
Vos, omnes angeli iniqui, fugite abhinc.
Crucis alme fero (signum: fuge demon).¹

The resemblance is especially striking, because the first Spanish poem refers to the same protection of the shield, "*clipeo fideli gliscens inesse sub tegmine.*" The two poems are said to be expansions of Eugene's verses, because the first two stanzas of the first and the first stanza of the second have been recorded among Eugene's poems,² but it is perfectly clear that here only beginnings of poems have been preserved. Again, there are six other verses which are useless as they

¹ *MGH.*, *Poetae latini*, vol. III, p. 149 f.

² *MGH.*, *Auctores antiquissimi*, vol. XIV, p. 264.

stand, but which must have belonged to a longer poem, where the members of the body are mentioned:

Partibus (his) constat humanae machina carnis,
 sed multipliciter quae numerentur habes:
 portio prima caput, collus ac brachia, truncus,
 intera, sensus iners, femora, crura, pedes.¹
 Auditus, visus, gustus, olfactio, tactus
 aure, oculis, ore, nare, cute corporis extant.²

All this points to a longer *lorica* or to a series of *loricae*, in which the parts of the body were mentioned. As Eugene's poems are of doubtful genuineness, it cannot be ascertained whether such exorcisms were already put into verse before the arrival of the Arabs; but in our *Lorica* we have several unquestionable Arabicisms. Thus the reference to the brandishing of darts by the fell demons, "as is their wont," is identical with the Arabic conception of evil done by genii's darts,³ against which, of course, a shield for protection is needed.

The pagan Arabs bequeathed the prayers of protection against all evils even to the Koran, which ends with two such prayers: "Say, I fly for refuge unto the Lord of the daybreak, that he may deliver me from the mischief of those things which he hath created; and from the mischief of the night, when it cometh on; and from the mischief of women blowing on knots; and from the mischief of the envious, when he envieth;" "Say, I fly for refuge unto the Lord of men, the king of men, the God of men, that he may deliver me from the mischief of the whisperer who slyly withdraweth, who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of men; from genii and men." Such exorcisms were put in the form of *sağ*,⁴ of which the verse in the *Lorica* is

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

² *Ibid.*, p. 260.

³ I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896, pp. 29 ff., 87 ff., 117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

one development. The Arabic name of such a protective *sağ* 'is عوذة 'ūdzaḥ, تعويذ ta'wīdz or معاذة ma'ādzaḥ "a kind of amulet, phylactery or charm, bearing an inscription, which is hung upon a man, to charm the wearer against the evil eye and against fright and diabolic possession." Such a prayer generally begins with the word اعوذ 'a'ūdzu "I seek protection," as is the case in the Koranic exorcisms.

Our *Lorica* is distinctly of Arabic or Mozarabic origin,—that is, as far as the workmanship of the poem and its exorcistic value are concerned. As a mere prayer for protection against the demons of the night, the Mozarabic liturgy contains a large number of poems which resemble remarkably the Spanish exorcistic poem mentioned above. Unfortunately, it is impossible to ascertain the date at which they were composed, or whether they precede or follow the poem from which extracts are given among Eugene's poems. One need only compare the extracts or the later poem with such lines as

Procul recedant somnia
Et noctium fantasmata
Hostemque nostrum comprime
Ne polluantur corpora.

Proculo procul vagantum
Portenta somniorum,
Procul esto pervicac
Prestigiator estu.

O tortuose serpens,
Qui mille per meandros,
Fraudesque flexuosas
Agitans quieta corda.

Discede, Christus hic est,
Hic Christus est, liquesce:

Signum quod ipse nosti
 Damnata tuam caterbam.

Obsidiones obvias
 Paremus omnes carminum
 Contra tenebrarum ducem,
 Contra tetrum satellitem.

Manus perarmet spes, fides,
 Lumbos valens crux obtegat,
 Cingamur ense spiritus
 Propter timores noctium.

Ihesu manu fortissima
 Salva fideles per fidem,
 Everte adversos crucem
 In pace cuncta protege.

Noctem nobis istam dona quietam:
 Inimicum hostem fuga a nobis:
 Crucis signum vincat omne inimicum:
 Te, Christe, rogamus mane nobiscum.

Tempus sopori congruum
 Adest, quies sit temporum,
 Stratum rigemus lacrimis,
 Lectum labemus fletibus.

Precelleamur simbolo,
 Succedat hinc oratio;
 Hinc osculantes invicem
 Armemur ipsi per crucem.

Sic fessa membra lectulo
 Demus sub illo iudice,
 Qui sic quiescentes excubat,
 Ut dormientes protegat.

Discedat turba demonum,
 Liquesceat ars satellitum
 Per nomen hoc crucis sacre,

Que te tuosque dissicet.
At tu Creator omnium
Procul repelle tedium,
Adversa cuncta dissices,
Tranquilla queque conferas.

Nocturnis oris surgimus,
Actus iniquos pandimus,
Nostrique oris organum
Te laudat ymnis dulcibus.
Ut turba quodque demonum
Corrupit astu proprio,
Parcendo cures omnia
Et dona vite conferas.

Ne ipsa plebs nequissima
Auctrique cuncti criminis
Nos ad perhenne incendium
Secum cremandos adtraat.

Aufer tenebras mentium,
Fuga caterbas demonum,
Expelle somnulentia,
Ne pigritantes obruat.¹

It is clear, therefore, that whether or not the prayers against the demons of the night precede our *Lorica*, the *Lorica* is based on the Mozarabic conception of such a prayer as an amulet against demons, in precisely the same way as such prayers were used by the pre-Islamic and Mohammedan Arabs.

¹ Migne, vol. LXXXVI (*Liturgia mozarabica*, vol. II), col. 927 ff.

VI

The introduction to the *Hisperica famina* runs as follows:

- Ampla pectoralem suscitāt uernia cauernam
 mestum extrico pulmone tonstrum.
 Sed gaudifluam pectoreis arto procellam arthereis.
 Cum insignes sophie speculator arcatores.
 5 Qui egregiam urbani tenoris propinant faucibus
 linpham.
 Uipereos que litterature plasmant syllogismos.
 Cui mundano triquadre telluris artico
 rhetorum florigera flectit habenas caterua.
 Et qui remota uasti fundaminis deseruere
 competa.
- 10 Utrum fabulosas per ora depromunt gazas.
 Num trucida altercaminum inter soboles pube-
 scunt litigia.
 An placorea abucant proles sceptrā.
 Utrum seuus amatorum coetus
 toxica corrui certandi in acie.
- 15 Ut furis ostrei cruoris riuīs
 candida oliuarent madiada.
 Seu spumaticum bombosi tithis flustrum
 inertes oppressit naufragio remiges.
 An horridum communi stragi rapuit acculas
 loetum?
- 20 quos edocetis fastos.
 Cui que adheretis rhetori?
 Huic lectorum sollertem inuito obello certatorem.
 qui sophicam pla mauerit auide palestrum.
 Nam trinos antea dimicaui athletas

VI

- Vast joy stirs the hollow of my chest,
I banish all sadness from my lungs,
But contract the joyous storm in my arteries
When I observe the worthy archers of wisdom,
5 Who with their throats drink the noble draught of
the urbane tenor
And fashion serpent syllogisms of literature.
To what rhetorician of the world's end of the
three-partite land
Does the florid crowd of archers guide the reins?
And why have they deserted the remote cross
roads of the vast foundation?
- 10 Do they draw fabulous wealth with their lips?
Do murderous feuds ripen among the disciples,
Or do the youths acknowledge the sceptres of peace?
Does the furious gathering of armed men
Rush in mad battle array,
- 15 With raging rivers of crimson gore
To bespatter the white flanks?
Does the foaming flood of the deep-sounding sea
Threaten to shipwreck the inert rowers?
Or has horrible death seized the dwellers in a
common destruction?
- 20 What splendor do you teach,
And to what rhetorician do you adhere?
"I invite thither to a duel the skilful fighter among
the readers
Who eagerly has practised sophic wrestling,
For I have earlier conquered three athletes at a
time,

- 25 inertes mactaui duelles
 ac robustos multaui coeuos.
 Fortiores que prostrauit in acie ciclopes.
 Hinc nullum subterfugio aequueum.
 Dum truculenta me uellicant opicula
- 30 protinus uersutilem euagino spatham
 que almas trucidat statuas.
 Arboream capto iduma peltam.
 que carneas cluit tutamine pernas.
 Ferralem uibro pationem
- 35 cuius pitheum assiles macerat rostrum cidones
 ob cunctos lastro in agonem coeuos.
 Haec compta dictaminum fulget sparsio
 ut nullos uitioso aggere glomerat logos
 ac sospitem lecto libramine artat uigorem.
- 40 Nam aequali plasmamine
- 40bmellifluam populat ausonici faminis per gut-
 tura sparginem
- 41 uelut innumera apium concauis discurrunt
 examina alueariis
 Melchillenta que sorbillant fluentia.
 Ac solitos stemicant rostris fauos.
 Hic comptus arcatorum exomicat coetus
- 45 cui dudum per lapsa temporum stadia
 parem non creuimus phalangem.
 Nec futura temporalis globi per pagula
 equiperatam fulgidi rumoris speculabimur
 cateruam
 sed presto horrendus asstat chelidrus
- 50 qui talem uipereo ictu sauciabit turbam
 nisi uasti exigerint rectorem poli.
- 52 Qui florigerum agmen
- 52breguloso soluerit discrimine.
 Nouello temporei globaminis cyclo
 hispericum arripere tonui sceptrum

- 25 I have killed the inert duelists
And I have punished violent contemporaries,
And have prostrated stronger cyclopes in battle.
Hence I shun no equal.
When fierce ignorance annoys me,
- 30 I immediately unsheathe my crafty sword
Which massacres fair statues,
I seize with my hand the wooden shield
Which gives protection to the fleshy calves,
I shake the steel dagger
- 35 Whose Pythoan blade slashes the feeble Cydons.
Hence I invite all my coevals to a fight.
This ornate and profuse diction glistens
And conglomerates no words of vicious rubbish
And unites safe vigor with exquisite poise,
- 40 For with even fashioning
- 40bIt fills the throats with a mellifluous flow of the
Ausonic diction."
- 41 Just as numerous swarms of bees rush through the
concave hives,
That sip the honeyed liquid
And fill the solid honeycombs with their bills,
Thus the fair gathering of the archers bursts forth,
- 45 Like whom through the lapsing periods of time
We have not raised a similar phalanx,
Nor in the future vills of the temporal globe
Shall we observe a comparable herd of the flashing
diction.
But immediately there raises itself the horrible
serpent
- 50 Which with viper's bite will stain the crowd,
Unless they implore the ruler of the vast heavens
- 52 The flowery company
- 52bTo save from the basilisk sting.
In the new cycle of the temporal globe
I have attempted to seize the Hisperic sceptre,

55 ob hoc rudem stemico logum
 ac exiguus serpit per ora riuus.
 Quod si amplo temporalis aeui stadio
 ausonica me alligasset catena
 sonoreus faminis per guttura popularet haustus

60 ac inmensus urbani tenoris manasset faucibus
 tollus.

Quod propriferum plasmas orgium?
 Utrum alma scindis securibus robora.
 Utico quadrigona densis stemicares oratoria
 tabulatis.

An flamigero coctas obrizum clibano

65 auriferas solidis cudere lunulas marthellis.
 Seu tinolam tensis suscitās odam chordis?
 Forte concauas sonoreis proflas cicutas armoniis.
 Sed non intelligibili mentis acumine prestulor
 quod lanigerosas odorosa obseruas per pascua
 bidentium turmas.

70 Cui obessa arcatorum assiduo tramite sectaris
 concilia.

Ac cieniam gemellis bailas curuanam scapulis
 rutulantem alboreis artas calamide madiadis.
 Pexam que carneis tolibus amplecteris caminam.
 Nec sophica ingenioso acumine abscultas
 mysteria.

75 Sed doctoreas effeto conamine comitaris his-
 torum turmas.

Hinc mirificum tibi ingenioso libramine palo
 consultum.

Proprigenum natalis fundi irruere solum.
 Ut agrica robusto gestu plasmaueris orgia.
 Nam pantia ruptis astant septa termopilis

- 55 Hence I garland the rude word
And a rich stream creeps o'er my lips.
If in the ample space of the temporal world
The Ausonian chain had held me,
A sonorous stream of speech would have rushed
through my throat,
- 60 And an immense torrent of urbane tenor would
have gushed from my jaws.
What special revel do you fashion?
Do you cut down the stately oaks with the axes,
That you may cover the square chapels with thick
boards?
- Or do you purify the gold in the flame-bearing oven,
- 65 In order to forge necklaces with solid hammers?
Or do you awaken a ringing ode from the taut
chords?
- Perchance you blow the concave pipes in sonorous
harmonies.
But I wait with a doubtful mind,
Because you watch the wool-bearing flocks of sheep
in the fragrant pastures,
- 70 Since you follow the stale counsel of the archers
with assiduous manner,
And wear on your two shoulders a white quiver
And put on your white sides a glittering cloak
And wrap a new tunic on your fleshy limbs.
Nor do you conceal the sophic mysteries with ingen-
ious acumen,
- 75 But accompany the learned crowds of the his-
torians with vain endeavor.
Hence I, with ingenious delicacy, reveal to you a
marvelous advice,—
To rush to the proper soil of your native farm,
In order to fashion rustic orgies in a lusty
manner,
For all the enclosures stand with open doors,

- 80 pubescentes pecorea depascunt segetes agmina.
 Ueternas mesta genitrix lacrimosis irrigat genas
 guttis.
 Nam infantilis mumurat inuagitus.
 Ac florigera resonat clangore per arua.
 Externum proprifera editrix abucat marem.
- 85 Placoreasque blandis concelebrat nuptias
 thalamis
 hec pantia natalem te stignant orgia adire
 limitem.
 Ceu montosus scropias tranat tollus per macides
 frondeos fluctiuaga eradicat hornos deuoratio.
 Inormia euoluit mormore crepita.
- 90 Limosam fluminio mactat crepidinem alueo.
 Concretas euellit uortice glarias
 pari ausonicum exubero pululamine fluuium.
 Ueluti rosea estiui laris ueternas cremat piram
 rubigine amarcas
 ac aruca fauellosis minorat robora tumulis.
- 95 Ciboneus torridum spirat clibanus ructum
 flangosas flectit per laquearia flammas
 equali doctoreas torreo feruore cateruas.
 Ceu truculentus pecorea terret bouencus armenta
 saginatum stricta mactet iuuenicum ligitura
- 100 horribilem uisceria complet ingluuiem aruina
 sanguineum trucido hiatu sorbellat fluentum
 pari erummosos perturbo pauore historum
 logosa.
 Quatinus uitreum tetigeris patula poli samum
 cuba.
 Gemella precibui alboris astra
- 105 septemplicis olimpi lustrauerint boreales limites.

- 80 The herds of cattle graze on the growing crops,
The sad mother laves her old cheeks with tear drops,
The children raise a cry,
And the blooming fields re-echo with clashing,
And your own wife acknowledges a strange male
- 85 And celebrates joyous nuptials in a charming
bridal chamber.
All these revels compel you to seek your native
home.
The mountain stream flows through the rough
thicket,
The wave-bearing destruction eradicates the leafy
mountain-ashes,
It produces enormous clattering and a noise,
- 90 It destroys the slimy bed of the river,
It whirls away the concreted gravel,—
With similar onrush do I fill the Ausonian stream.
The ruddy fire of the glowing hearth burns the
ancient scarlet-oaks to embers
And pulverises the oaks to heaps of ashes,
- 95 And the fiery oven breathes forth its torrid belching
And turns the licking flames to the ceiling,—
With equal fervor do I roast the learned crowds.
Or the truculent snake terrifies the herds of cattle,
That it may kill the fattened bullock in its tight
embrace,
- 100 It fills its horrible crop with the entrails' fat,
It sucks with ferocious draught the bloody liquid,—
With equal fear do I perturb the wretched diction
of the historians
Until you shall have touched the glassy edge of
heaven with your open hand,
And the twin stars of exceptional whiteness
- 105 Shall have illumined the Boreal limits of seven-
fold Olympus,

Sabulosas litorei calculaueris micas planeti.
 Tithicum tellato uixerit seminarium in temino
 mundanique uiuidum censuerint coloni ponti
 spiraculum.
 Haud hispericum propinabis auido gutture
 tollum.

110 Inquantum eosus ab occiduo limite distat
 articus
 tineus sidereis ampliori rutilo precellit arotus
 tedis
 sonoreusque certantium frangor militum
 mellisono antecedit apium strepitu
 ac furibundus teneram superat ursus bidentem.

115 Intantum nostri loquelosi tenoris segregantur
 altrinsecus numina.

Bis senos exploro uechros
 qui ausonicam lacerant palatham
 ex his gemella astant facinora
 que uerbalem sauciant uipereo tactu struem.

120 Alterum barbarico auctu loquelarem inficit
 tramitem
 ac gemello stabilitat modello.
 Quaterna que neetit specimina
 Inclitos litteraturae addit assidue apices
 statutum toxico rapit scriptum dampno.

125 Litterales urbane mouet caracteres facundie
 stabilem picture uenenoso obice transmutat
 tenorem.
 Alius clarifero ortus est uechrus solo.

- And you may have counted the sandy grains of
the level shore,
And the Tithian shoal shall have lived on the
space of land,
And the dwellers of the world sea shall have
sensed the life-giving air,
You will not exhaust the Hisperian stream with
your eager breast,
110 Inasmuch as the eastern star is distant from the
western border,
And the Greater Light shines with a ruddier glow
than the starry torches,
And the sonorous clash of fighting soldiers
Surpasses the sweet buzzing of the bees,
And the fierce bear is stronger than the tender
bident,
115 In so far on the other side are the peculiarities
of our diction segregated.

- I explore the twelve faults
Which lacerate the Ausonian figpaste.
From these twin faults stand out,
Which hurt the verbal structure with the serpent's
touch.
120 Another stains the rhetorical manner with bar-
baric increment,
And confirms with the double rhyme
The fourfold specimen which it unites.
It constantly adds unheard-of finesses to literature;
It carries off the stated writing by its poisonous
harm;
125 It removes the literary characters of urbane speech;
It transmutes the stable tenor by its venomous
impediment.
Another fault arises on a clear soil,

Quo hispericum reguloso ictu uiolatur euloigium
sensibiles partiminum corrodit domescas.

- 130 Cetera notantur piacula
que italicum lecti faminis sauciant obrizum.
Quod ex his propiferum loquelosi tenoris in hac
assertione affigis facinus.

Some of the Spanish and Arabic words in the *Hisperica famina* have been discussed before. To those already given must be added the following:

Amarca. We find the word in l. 93, "ueluti rosea estiui laris ueternas cremat piram rubigine *amarcas*," where it obviously means some kind of tree. In l. 565 it says that the Lord covers the smooth-leaved *amarcae* with foliage, "glacicomas folicia strue tegit *amarcas*," and in l. 581, that workmen cut down a mighty *amarca* with their axes, "uastam que mancipatores trucidant spathis *amarcam*." Obviously it is a large tree, such as metaphorically stands for strength. It is mentioned as *amara* in Mozarabic¹ and is the *quercus coccifera*, the scarlet oak of Spain.

Arotus, gansia. *Arotus* occurs in the following lines: 111, "titaneus sidereis ampliori rutilo precellit *arotus* tedis;" 133, "titaneus olimphium inflammat *arotus* tabulatum;" 222, "febeos supernum secat *arotus* poli centrum, medium que diei appropinquat spatium;" 303, "titaneus occiduum rutilat *arotus* pontum." In all these *arotus* refers to the sun. In two passages it refers either to the sun or the moon, and in one of these the alternative *orion* is used of the sun: 363, "gemellos torridi alboris pastricat *arotos*, titaneus diurnas rutilat *orion* metas, pallida merseum illustrat *gansia* promerium;" text B, 104, "altero diurnum rutulat *aroto* promerium, aliud merseum inlucesset sidus umbracu-

¹ F. J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid 1888, p. 15.

Through which the Hisperian eulogy is violated
by the basilisk sting.

It corrodes the sensible devices of the parts.

130 Other sins are noted

Which stain the Italic gold of the select speech.

Which proper fault of these of the colloquial kind
do you attach to this assertion?

lum." *Gansia* obviously refers to the moon. It is
Arab. *خانس* *hānis* or *كانس* *kānis* "star or planet, includ-

ing the moon," from *كنس خنس* *hanasa, kanasa* "he
hid himself," because "the stars become hidden in the
courses, and run their courses and become stationary
in their places of circuiting and then circuit again."¹
The meaning "circuit" is found for this word in the
form *gande*, in Virgilius Maro. The lines quoted on
p. 14 mean: "sea and moon alternately run together
in the zenith circuit of the times." The same meaning
of "circuit" is found in the line, "quam quaestionem
cum ad meum Aeneam rettulissem, ac diutina diei *gande*
de hac eadem multa uoluerimus, ad extremum ita
intulit."² As the moon is the "hiding star," so the
sun is "the big fire," *titaneus arotus* or *orion*. This is
Arab. *اره* 'irat, *اري* *aryun* "fire, fervor."

Madiadum of ls. 16, 72, and *mediadum* of ls. 191,
234, 501 obviously mean "the side of the body,"
hence are, no doubt, a corruption of *madianum* of text
B, ls. 16 and 26, and of the *Lorica*, where it has already
been discussed.

Macides, tollus. *Tollus* occurs in the following lines: 60,
"ac inmensus urbani tenoris manasset faucibus *tollus*;"

¹ However, this *gansia* may be a mere corruption of *Cynthia*, frequently
glossed in the Latin vocabularies by "luna."

² Huemer, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

87, "ceu montosus scropias tranat tollus per macides;" 109, "haud hispericum propinabis auido gutture tollum;" 253, "haec concaua scopatum amplectitur aula tolum;" 256, "hoc coenosum aetrae astat tolum;" 490, "quod spumaticum rapuit tolo diluuium;" B-text, 135, "glas netellatum procellosis fluctibus operiat tolum et glaucum mundiano artauit limbum tolo;" D-text, 60, "altere caloreo torrent luxu tolum;" 126, "rapuit tolo diluuium." It is clear that *tollus* is a "rapid stream of some kind," and this is borne out by Adamnan's "ulterius nauem procedere cataractae, hoc est fluminales aquarum *tolli*, non sinunt, non defectu gurgitis, sed totius fluminis praecipitio et quadam ruina currentium aquarum."¹ But it is clear that "hoc est fluminales aquarum *tolli*" is a gloss, a later insertion, since no codex of an earlier date than the ninth century is known, and it could not have occurred to Adamnan to gloss "cataractae," which is of extremely common occurrence in Latin. Stowasser² has guessed that it is Gr. *θολός* "slime, mud." A certain amount of plausibility of such a derivation is furnished by Span. *tollo* "mud, puddle." But the resemblance is purely accidental. Span. *tollo* really means "a hole formed in the ground," hence "hole dug by hunters in which to hide," Valencian *toll* "hole formed by the water in rivers, canals, etc.," Catalan *toll*, *doll* "a ray of water passing through a narrow orifice," hence Span. *atollar* "get stuck in the mud," *atolladero* "mud, difficulty, embarrassment." All this is from Arab. *تلة* *tal-*

'*ah*, poetically *تلع* *tal'* "a watercourse from the upper part of a valley, a mountain stream being formed by

¹ *De locis sanctis*, in P. Geyer, *Itinera hierosolymitana saeculi IIII-VIII*, in *Corp. scrip. eccl. lat.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 281.

² *Incerti auctoris Hisperica famina*, in *Dreizehnter Jahresbericht über das k. k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in Wien*, Wien 1887, p. 22.

the water's coming and furrowing and excavating it until it escapes from it," تَلَعَاتُ tala'āt, تِلَاعُ tīlā' "watercourses flowing from acclivities and the mountains, until they pour into the valley." From ls. 87, 88 we learn that such a *tollus* flows through rough *macides* and destroys the leafy mountain-ashes. Strong¹ has connected it with Corsican *mâquis* "rough forest land," which may be correct. It is from Arab. مَغِيصٌ *magīṣ* "a place where water sinks, or goes away into the earth," hence غَيْصَةٌ *gaiṣah* "a *magīṣ* of water collected together, in which in consequence thereof, trees grow."

Curuana. It occurs in the following lines: 71, "ac ciciam gemellis bailas *curuanam* scapulis;" 262, "arboreas figite in pariete *curuanas*;" 508, "nitentes ceruicibus gestant *curuanas*, innumeri quadrigonas captant scutilibus peltas, ferriales uibrant idumis pugiones;" B-text, 54, "densas figite *curuanas* inter uiminas." That *cicnia* means "white" or "shining," i. e., that it is Lat. *cycnia*, is proved by *arboreas* for *alboreas*, and by *nitentes* of the other passages. The *curuana* is hung upon a wall; it is worn over the shoulders; it is mentioned in connection with shields and swords; instead of the *curuana* a *sarcina* is mentioned as being over the archers' shoulders. This would suffice to prove that the *curuana* is not a sunshade, but a leather quiver or sheath. But we have a whole Hisperic poem which explains precisely what a *curuana* is.

¹ In *American Journal of Philology*, 1905, p. 211.

De taberna

Haec alborea exomicat taberna
 que spissas breuiusculo tegmine artat setas.
 Quadrigono degestum sutum est figmento archi-
 mium.

Unitam superna amplectitur ianuam ora.
 Que stricto asilibus palligonis rotis cluditur oper-
 culo.

Ac bis senis alligatur adeo restibus.
 Flexa que acatorum ceruicibus uehitur sarcina.

huius inditum depromam curuane ductum.
 Saginatas pecodis dudum tegebat pernas.
 Hirtum que acuto framine decoriauit carnifex
 corium.

Densa que tensum est parieti inter uimina.
 Ac igneo aruit fumo.
 Obansque edictum lacerauit opifex archimium.

Astrictis corialem pastricauit corripiis tegulam.
 Bis binos plasmauit angulos.
 Lectoque pellicium gestamine perfecit armarium.
 Caetera non explico famine stemata.
 Ne doctoreis suscitauero fastidium castris.

Apparently we have here a description of the Jewish ark of law. Whether so or not, we see that the *curuana* is a quiver, and is now used for the purpose of lining the inside of a booth. It is the Arab. قراب جراب

ġirāb, qirāb, plur. جرب *ġurb*, “a sword case, or a case, or receptacle, in which a sword is put with its scabbard and its suspensory belt or cord.”

De taberna

This white booth shines forth
And joins thick hair into a close integument.
The movable ark is sewn in square form,

An upper line unites the united door,
Which is closed by a tight cover on light polygonous
wheels,
And besides is joined by twelve cords.
And the curved bag which is borne on archers' shoulders,—

I shall fetch the quiver's covering,—
Formerly it covered the fattened limbs of a sheep,
And the butcher flayed the shaggy skin with a sharp
knife,

And it was stretched on the wall between close withes,
And was dried in the smoke of the fire,—
And the joyful worker has cut open the above-
mentioned ark

And has sewn the leather covering with tight cords,
And has fashioned four angles,
And has made a leather safe from the choice quivers.
The other adornments I shall not explain in my diction,
Lest I excite disgust in the learned camps.

All kinds of guesses have been made as to the meaning of the Introduction,¹ but all are far from the mark. What the writer of the *Hisperica famina* says is this: "I notice a large number of young men, dressed up in the best of clothes and pretending to be archers, crowding to the cities of Spain in order to study rhetoric. One would think that they were prepared to wage battle, and why should they not, if one considers the boastful

¹ See *Am. Journal of Philology*, 1905, p. 204 ff.

way in which the rhetoricians speak of their wisdom. No one has ever seen such assemblies of dandies, who listen to the flashing diction. But just let them hear me teach them the Hisperic diction! Indeed, if I used the Ausonian diction, I might have excelled like the rest of the rhetoricians." Then he turns to one of the young men who has left his native heath and is studying poetry. One might think by the noise he was making that he was cutting down an oak, or was getting ready to forge a golden ornament, or playing an instrument. "I advise you to leave all this crowd of rhetoricians and return home, where things have gone ill without you." Then the author proceeds to show how much superior the Hisperic diction is to the Ausonian, and how he purifies the Ausonian prosody of its faults. The Hisperic diction has but one fault, while the first has many.

The reference to the rhetoricians and the crowd of dandies who follow them is identical with that made by Alvarus in the middle of the ninth century: "Thus, while we inquire into their sacraments, neglecting the sacred scriptures, we congregate in order to learn about the schools of the philosophers, nay philocomps (braggarts), not in order to convince them of their errors, but on account of their elegant charm and their voluptuous diction, and we place in our chambers nothing but the (apocalyptic) number of His name, as though it were an idol. Who, I ask, is found among faithful laymen who is skilful enough to understand the book of Holy Writ or anything written in Latin by our doctors? Who burns with love of the Gospel, the Prophets, the Apostles? All the Christian youths, fair of countenance, eloquent of speech, conspicuous in their apparel and bearing, learned in gentile erudition, perfected in Arabic eloquence, most eagerly study, most intently read, most ardently discuss the Arabic

books, and gathering for profound study express themselves praisingly in voluptuous and well-pruned speech, ignorant of the ecclesiastic beauties and despising the church rivers that spring from paradise as being most vile. Oh, for shame! The Christians do not know their language, the Latin people do not understand their own language, so that in the whole college of Christ barely one in a thousand may be found who could write a decent letter to a brother. And there is found an innumerable crowd of those who eruditely explain the Arabic ostentation of words, so that they decorate metrically the final clauses by monorhyme in more learned songs and of sublimer beauty than used by those nations, in accordance with the requirements of their idiom, which rhymingly closes all the vowel endings at a comma and cola, as is proper among them, and metrically the letters of the whole alphabet through the various dictions and variants end in one way, or a similar manner.”¹

It appears from the *Hisperica famina* that the dandies among the Spaniards wore the Arabic apparel, even the Arabic quiver, which made them look like archers, and that they flocked from the country to the cities to follow the instruction of the braggart rhetoricians. The author of the *Hisperica famina* despises those imitations of classical idyls, and in the place of the over-refined rhetoric of antiquity, which he denominates as Ausonian, offers the students an even more incomprehensible prosody, which he calls Hisperic. His method consists in the free use of rare words, from

¹“Sic & dum illorum sacramenta inquirimus, & Philosophorum, imo Philocomporum, sectas scire non pro ipsorum convincendis erroribus, sed pro elegantia leporis, & locutione luculenter disserta, neglectis sanctis lectionibus congregamus, nihil aliud quam numerum nominis ejus in cubiculo nostro quasi idola conlocamus. Quis rogo hodie solers in nostris fidelibus laicis invenitur, qui Scripturis Sanctis intentus volumina quorumquumque Doctorum latine conscripta respiciat?” Florez, *España Sagrada*, vol. XI, p. 274. For the end of the Latin quotation see p. 42 f.

whatever source they may come, from the classics, from Greek, from Arabic, bound together by no metric system, except the Arabic *sağ'*, that is, in writing free lines of various lengths, so that there is a rhyme or assonance in each line. For his subject matter he chooses the simple scenes, chiefly from country life, hence he sings of the day's work, of heaven, the sea, the fish, the wind, the chapel, the prayer, and the accomplished work.

Hisperic means Spanish Latin, as distinguished from Italian Latin, hence he speaks of Ausonian diction as *urbane*, of *Hisperic* diction as colloquial (*loquularis*, *loquolosus*, *temporeus*, *temporalis*). If he had wished to do so, he could have written in exquisite Ausonian diction (ls. 57-60), but he prefers to overthrow the rhetoricians by the use of the rude *Hisperic* style (ls. 53-56). With his colloquialisms he would destroy the Ausonian stream (l. 92), and no one can ever exhaust the wealth of the *Hisperic* torrent (l. 109). The Ausonian represents the "*urbanus tenor*" (ls. 5, 60, 125 "*urbana facundia*"), while his *Hisperic* diction is in the "*loquolosus tenor*." Hence he begins two of his shorter poems with the statement that he sings in the colloquial style,¹ or he ends several of them with the hint that he will not proceed to be more explicit with his colloquial poetry, lest he provoke the learned doctors, or rouse nausea in the learned camps.²

¹ L. 358, "De hoc amplo olimpi firmamento *loquolosus* depromam lento murmure strues" (*De caelo*); l. 381, "de hoc amplo anfitridis lucumine *loquolosum* cudere nitor tornum" (*De mari*).

² L. 380, "que temporeo propiamine explicare non famulor" (*De caelo*); l. 475, "quae loquulari tramite haud explicare nitor, ne doctoreas rhetorum grauauerit uenas" (*De campo*); l. 512, "que temporali propiamine non exprimo" (*De plurimis*); l. 529, "caetera non explico famine stemata, ne doctoreis suscitauero fastidium castris" (*De taberna*); l. 545, "nunc loquelarem celeri flexu retraho tramitem, ne ingeniosas rhetorum grauauero domescas" (*De tabula*); l. 560, "que non loquolosus explicare famulor turno" (*De oratorio*).

The original *Hisperica famina* was written in Spain or by a Spaniard, but the three redactions which we possess have already been tampered with by Celtic writers. The three versions, of which the C-text is very fragmentary, differ so considerably in wording that they show what liberties have been taken with the original text. The introduction of the A-text is comparatively intact, so that the difficulty of translation is not so great as in some of the following poems. The B-text has Breton glosses between the lines and is followed by what is known as the Echternach glossary of Hisperic words in Breton. It is, therefore, most likely that it was at Fleury that Goth and Celt met. In any case, there are several lines in the *Hisperica famina* which are Celtic interpolations. In the middle of the poem *Incipit lex diei* there is repeated, without rhyme or reason, line 58, "si ausonica me alligasset catena," followed by a Hibernism:

L. 273, "Non ausonica me subligat catena.

Ob hoc scottigenum haud cripitundo eulogium.

Sed furibundos perculam amite amielios,"

"I am not bound by the Ausonian chain, so I do not rattle an Irish eulogy, but I shall overthrow the furious wrestlers with a pole." We have here a reference to the long boasting of the author who will overthrow the whole brood of the rhetoricians. The same passage runs in the B-text as follows:

L. 67, "Nam (non) strictus romani tenoris me
septricat nexus—

Nec scotigenum aperto forcipe pompo seriem;

Sed capta arborei stibitis claua

Caminum (caninum) demicabo tumultum."

"I am not bound by the strict order of the Roman tenor, nor do I vociferate Irish stuff with open mouth, but I will pick up a shillaly and will lay low the pack of

dogs." It is perfectly clear from the latter passage that it was understood that Ausonian meant "Roman," and it is also clear that the Irish writer tried to identify his Irish diction with the Roman. On the other hand, we know from the Introduction that the Hisperic diction was strong enough to overcome the Ausonian rhetorics. Apparently the Irish writer thought that the boast of the rhetorician who had laid low three athletes at a time referred to the Hisperic author, hence the confusion in his mind.

THE ANTIPHONARY OF BANGOR

The date of the writing of the *Antiphonary of Bangor* has been established on the basis of the poem *In memoriam abbatum nostrorum* at the end of the book:

MEMORIAM ABBATUM NOSTRORUM

Sancta sanctorum opera
patrum fratres fortissima
benchorensi in optima
fundatorum aeclesia
abbatum eminentia
numerus tempra nomina
sine fine fulgentia
audite magna mereta
 quos conuocauit dominus
 caelorum regni sedibus.

Amavit christus comgillum
bene et ipse dominum
carum habuit beognoum
domnum ornauit aedeum
elegit sanctum sinlanum
famosum mundi magistrum
 quos conuocauit dominus
 caelorum regni sedibus.

Gratum fecit fintenatum
heredem almu inclitum
inlustrauit mac laisreum
kapud abbatum omnium
lampade sacrae seganum
magnum scripturae medicum
 quos

Notus uir erat berachus
 ornatus et cumenenus
 pastor columba congruus
 querela absque aidanus
 rector bonus baithenus
 summus antestes critanus
 quos

Tantis successit camanus
 uir amabilis omnibus
 christo nunc sedet suppressus
 ymnos canens quindecimus
 zoen ut carpat cronanus
 conseruet eum dominus
 q[uo]s conuocabit dominus
 caelorum regni sedibus.

Horum sanctorum mere[ta]
 abbatum fidelissima
 erga comgillum congrua
 inuocamus altissima
 uti possimus omnia
 nostra delere cremina
 per ihesum christum aet[er]na
 regnantem in saecula.¹

Since the annals of Tighernach and of Ulster give the year 680 as that of the end of Camanus' (Colman's) abbotship and 691 as that of Cronan's obit, the conclusion is drawn by Warren² that the *Bangor Antiphonary* must have been written between 680 and 691. There are certain inaccuracies in this assumption

¹ F. E. Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor, an Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, London 1893-95, vol. I, fol. 36 verso.

² *Ibid.*, p. X.

which baffle one at the start. In the first place, in editing the stanza,¹ Warren places a period after "canens" in the fourth line and begins "quindecimus" with a capital. In doing so he upsets his own theory, for now "nunc sedet" refers to Camanus, and the writing of the Antiphonary, to use Warren's argument, would have to be placed between 669 and 680; but, since the last four lines speak of Cronanus in the present tense, the Antiphonary must have been written after 680. Thus the argument of the present tense is self-destructive. Let us assume that the period got in by mistake and in reality belongs to the end of the first or second line, so that "sedet" is intended for Cronanus. That would favor Warren's theory about the period in which the Antiphonary was written, were it not for the "quos" of the refrain, which refers both to Camanus and Cronanus, and so invalidates the argument that "conuocabit" refers to the living Cronanus. Obviously, if the dead Camanus is still to be called to heaven, then there is no warrant that Cronanus was alive, even though he is mentioned as now sitting and singing hymns. All that we may infer is that the poem was written at some later time than Cronan's abbotship, on the basis of an account or poem originally composed at the end of the seventh century. In the original contemporary poem there could have been no such words as "quos conuocabit." Besides, as the poem is "in memoriam," it can not refer to a living abbot.

The verse which speaks of Cronan now sitting and singing hymns obviously means that he is sitting in heaven (nunc sedet supprimus), that is, that he is already dead. Precisely the same sentiment is expressed in the last two verses of a hymn to Comgil, of whom it says that he *now sang* with the angelic choir,

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 33.

already a saint in supreme joy, and that mercy *will be shown him*:

Ymnum deo cum cantico
 immolabat altissimo
 diei noctis circulo
 orans sepe cum triumpho
 nunc cantauit sub numero
 canticum nouum domino
 iunctus choro angelico
 summo sanctus in iubilo
 quem deus ad etherea
 conduxit habitacula
 ab angelis custodita
 permansura in saecula.

Zona cinctus iustitiae
 castitatis eximiae
 mundo opertus sindone
 insigno castimoniae
 foeminalia lucidae
 habens toto ex uiscere
 cuius sancto pro opere
 reddetur mercis condigne
 quem¹

There is not the slightest significance to be attached to the present tense "*nunc sedet.*" The abecedarian hymn to Camelacus is all in the present tense, although the last eight lines show that he was dead and had long been installed in heaven:

YMNUM SANCTI CAMELACI

Audite bonum exemplum
 benedicti pauperis
 camelaci cumiensis
 dei iusti famuli

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, fol. 17 recto f.

*exemplum praebet in toto
fidelis in opere
gratias deo agens
hilaris in omnibus
ieiunus et mansuetus
kastus hic seruit deo
laetatur in paupertate
mitis est in omnibus
noctibus adque diebus
orat dominum suum
prudens iustus ac fidelis
quem cognati diligunt
regem dominum aspexit
saluatoremque suum
tribuit huic aeternam
uitam cum fidelibus
Xpm illum insinuauit
patriarchae abrahamae
ymparadiso regnabit
cum sancto elizaro.¹*

The abecedarian hymn to St. Patrick has such a confusion of tenses that no deduction whatsoever may be made from it:

YMNUM SANCTI PATRICI. MAGISTER SCOTORUM

- i. Audite omnes amantes
deum sancta mereta
uiri in christo beati
Patrici episcupi
quodo bonum obactum
similatur angelis
perfectamque propter uitam
aequatur apostolis.

¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 17 verso.

- iv. Dominus illum elegit
 ut doceret barbaras
 nationes et piscaret
 per doctrinae retia
 et de saeculo credentes
 traheret ad gratiam
 dominum qui sequerentur
 sedem ad etheream.
- vi. Fidelis dei minister
 insignisque nuntius
 apostolicum exemplum
 formamque praebet bonis
 qui tam uerbis quam et factis
 plebi praedicat dei
 ut quem dictis non conuertit
 f * tu prouocet bono.
- vii. Gloriam habet cum christo
 honorem in saeculo
 qui ab omnibus ut dei
 ueneratur angelus
 quem deus misit ut paulum
 ad gentes apostolum
 ut hominibus ducatum
 praeberet regno dei.
- xii. Maximus namque in regno
 caelorum uocabitur
 qui quod uerbis docet sacris
 factis adinplet bonis
 bono praecedit exemplo
 formamque fidelium
 mundoque in corde habet
 ad deum fiduciam.

xxii. Ymnos cum apocalipsi
salmosque cantat dei
quosque ad aedificandum
dei tractat populum
quem legem in trinitate
sacri credit nominis
tribusque personis unam
docetque substantiam.

xxiii. Zona domini praecinctus
diebus ac noctibus
sine intermissione
deum orat dominum
cuius ingenti laboris
percepturus praemium
cum apostolis regnabit
sanctus super israhel.¹

Thus we have absolutely no data in the Antiphonary from which to determine the date of its ultimate composition, but the use of "in memoriam" shows conclusively that all the fifteen abbots were dead when it was written. It is, however, very easy to show that it owes its origin to a contact of Irish monks with Visigothic culture. Warren has already observed that the Antiphonary is under strong influence of the Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies.² From the many instances which he adduces it appears that these borrowings begin with the verso of fol. 15. Now it is precisely here that the tirade rhymes begin. Moreover, it is clear that up to this verso of fol. 15 the copyist or copyists may have had before them an old text from Bangor, of which only three lines, the end of the Hymn to St. Patrick, are found at the top of the page.

¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 13 verso ff.

² *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. XXVI ff.

Immediately afterwards comes the Hymn to Comgil. After writing this, the copyist crowded in between the last line of the previous hymn and on the margin an appeal to St. Patrick in tirade rhyme:

“Patricius episcopus
Oret pro nobis omnibus,
Ut deleantur protinus
Peccata quae commisimus.
Patricii laudes semper dicamus,
Ut nos cum illo semper vivamus.”

Thus it appears that, in imitation of the old Hymn to St. Patrick, new abecedarian verses were written, but in an entirely new kind of versification, which has little in common with the old metric prosody. It is worthy of notice that these verses with tirade rhymes contain a considerable number of Greek words. The unusual *pantes* (in Hymn to Comgil) has already been met with in the *Rubisca*. It is also found in the *Hisperica famina*, *Lorica*, and the *Lios monocus*. In Blume's *Hymnodia Hiberno-Celtica*¹ we find additional verses with tirade rhymes, which prove that they belong to the same family as those in the Antiphonary. The famous *Altus Prosator* (No. 216, p. 275 ff.) is known from MSS. of not earlier than the ninth century. Its relationship to the language of the *Hisperica famina* is made clear by the use of *iduma* “hand,” and to the Mozarabic literature by the use of words not found in the Vulgate, but in the *Itala*.² The assumption that this hymn originated in Ireland in the sixth or seventh century is without any foundation, the more so since the use made of it by Hrabanus Maurus in his *Aeterne rerum conditor*, into which he incorporated it, shows that it was also known on the continent. Nos. 223, 224,

¹ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. LI, p. 259 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 283.

225, 229, 230, 235, 238, 254, are all from the ninth century and need not detain us, while No. 221, which is also found in the Antiphonary, is from the Turin fragments, which Meyer located in the seventh century only through the assumption of the Antiphonary as of that age.

The Mozarabic hymns¹ unfortunately are known only from tenth or eleventh century MSS., hence it is not always possible to be sure that we have old tirade rhymes before us. But those that represent pure or mixed tirade rhymes are obviously of the same type as the Irish hymns. Such are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 13, 17, 28, 44, 83, 126, 130, 145, 157, 169, 179, 207. The following verses will illustrate the peculiar use made of the tirade rhyme in Spain.

9. Dominica ante Epiphaniam.

1. Agni genitor Domine
Berbum natum de virgine,
Conceptum sine semine,
Dux luminis et fons vitae.
2. Esto nobis in salutem,
Filius Dei unice,
Gubernator Iesu Christe,
[H]ad precem nostram adspice.
3. In mundum nobis missus es,
Kaptivos repraesentare,
Lumen caecis reformare,
Mutorum linguas solvere.

¹ *Die mozarabischen Hymnen des alt-spanischen Ritus*, in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. XXVII.

13. Feria 3. post Oct. Epiphaniae.

In Laudibus.

1. Deus aeterni luminis,
Candor inenarrabilis,
Venturus diei iudex,
Qui mentis occulta vides.
2. Tu regnum caelorum tenes
Et totus in verbo tu es,
Per filium cuncta regis,
Sancto spiritui fons es.
3. Trinum nomen alto vides,
Unum per omnia potes,
Mirumque per signum crucis,
Tu rector immensae lucis.

126. In sancti Hieronymi.

1. Christus est virtus, patris sapientia,
Cunctos qui replet spiritali gratia,
Ut possint probe digerere normulam
Et proximorum illustrare opaca,
Ut digne possint frui caelestia.
2. Ipsius dono perflatus egregius
Olim hic vates nomine Ieronymus
Omnibus notus doctrinarum fontibus,
Cunctos irrigans ex almis dogmatibus,
Ut sol resplendet in ortu ignicomus.
3. Hic procul cuncta saeculi negotia
Percalcans pede velut spurcissima
Dedecorosa respuitque saecula,
Alens inopum egenaque viscera,
Sibi aeterna acquirens stipendia.

145. In ss. Iusti et Abundii.

1. Vox, ecce, vatū vivida personat
Venire Christum nascique nuntiat,
Nunc festa cuius plebs pia celebrat,
Quae ferens undam lucidam promicat.
2. Quem Gabrielis vox clara nuntiat,
Quam virgo parit, quae sola rutilat,
Fetosa virgo quem [sola] lactitat,
Nutrixque virgo se qui dedicat.
3. Cuius dicata passio provocat,
Ut quis fidelis sanguine rubeat
Et passionis munere polleat,
Utroque sese perimi gaudeat.

157. In sancti Matthaei.

In Laudibus.

1. Sollemne rutilat ac venerabile
Nunc festum, populi, pectora pandite,
Caelesti Domina munera solvite
Et grates pie reddite.
2. Electus Domini namque discipulus,
Matthaeus vocatus, nimis et inclitus,
Colendus populis adfuit omnibus,
Claret et bene moribus.
3. Hic Christi socius factus apostolis
Dat sancta populis munera literis
Et clarus opere floruit aetheris
Ostendens bona meritis.

179. In ss. Vincentii, Sabinae et Christetae.

1. Huc vos gratifice, plebs pia, convocat
 Virtutum Dominus testium atria,
 Quo festi dapibus vota calentia
 Caelorum locet intima.
2. Iuncti martyribus iungite gaudia,
 Vincenti teneat munera vox pia,
 Sabina recinat caelica litera,
 Christetes bona et era.
3. Hi mundi misera lucra per ardua
 Refellunt hominum vafra dolentia,
 Cedunt punicea colla per omnia,
 Rex Christe, tibi, laureans.

207. De Nubentibus.

1. Tuba clarifica, plebs Christi, revoca
 Hac in ecclesia votiva gaudia,
 Fide eximia celebra monita,
 Confitere piacula.
2. Rite magnalia elange deifica,
 Caelicas ianuas patentes intona,
 Quas dira truserat veneni invidia,
 Iam Christus cuncta reserat.
3. Sic fera framea, serpentis lancea
 Adam protoplaustum, primaevum incolam,
 Evae feminea polluit labia
 Et expulit a patria.

In one of my next volumes I shall discuss the significant development of the rhyme poetry in the west of Europe, and shall analyze the works of the eighth and ninth century authors who have aided in its development. I shall there point out the amazing number of forgeries which are connected with this new kind of literary production.

THE GOTHIC FORGERIES

Odorici,¹ quoting Astezati as to the existence of a Brescia document of the year 769, failed to give its contents, because the original no longer existed in the Brescia archives. In the *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae* the document appeared in full,² as though taken from Odorici, *Codice diplomatico bresciano*, parte VI, p. 138, No. 295. The reference is entirely misleading, for Odorici never published the document. On p. 138 of vol. VIII of his *Storie bresciane* he merely mentioned that the document under discussion had been found, with some others, in Cremona, and that the phrase "lege vivens Gothorum, habitator in Sablonaria Civis Brixianus," which occurred in it was worthy of special consideration. Apparently the *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae* had a copy taken at Cremona. In the *Codex diplomaticus Cremonae*³ it is explained how the document came into possession of the Large Hospital of Cremona. The properties of Alfiano, with which it deals, originally belonged to the monastery of San Giulia in Brescia. When they passed over to the Large Hospital in Cremona, the documents apparently went with them. Unfortunately we do not have before us the original document, but an apograph of the eleventh century.

We have here recorded a sale of an estate to the abbess of the Monastery of the Saviour at Brescia by Staviles, who made the conveyance with the consent of his father Benignus of the estate Ollea, which he

¹ *Storie Bresciane*, vol. III, Brescia 1854, p. 53.

² No. XXXVIII, col. 72 f.

³ *Historiae patriae monumenta*, vol. XXI, Augustae Taurinorum 1895, p. 26.

had received by inheritance from his mother *Benedicta*. *Tamassia*¹ has shown conclusively that the consent of the father was necessary and unavoidable only in case of the Justinian law, and not according to Langobard law, hence, he argues, it was necessary to mention that *Staviles* was not a Langobard, but an Ostrogoth who lived according to the Roman law, and that this was expressed by the phrase "*legem vivens Gothorum*."

It must be evident to the casual observer that what in reality took place was this: when the property passed over to the Hospital in Cremona or, perhaps, at some previous critical moment in Brescia, it became obvious that the ownership of *Ollea* was based on a faulty document, as regards the Langobard law, if the consent of the father was necessary for the sale of the maternal estate, for, if *Benignus* had been a Langobard, he would have inherited the property from his wife, excluding his son.² To remedy the fault, the copyist of the document inserted the two contradictory terms "*legem vivens Gothorum*" and "*civis Brixianus*." This can be shown from purely external evidence, for the sentence, "*Constat me Stavile, consenciente michi et subter confirmante genitore meo Benigno, legem vivens Gothorum habitante in Sablonaria civis brixianus, accepißim*," etc., makes a break in changing from "*consenciente*" and "*habitante*" to "*vivens*," which would never have happened in the original document. If we had "*consenciente, vivente, habitante*" or even "*consenciente, habitante, vivens*," there would attach to it no suspicion of forgery, for, in the first case, we should have a loose sequence of Vulgar Latin forms, and, in the second, a change to the nominative, caused by the following direct, instead

¹ *Una professione di legge gotica*, in *Atti del reale istituto veneto*, vol. LXI, p. 131 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

of the indirect, discourse. But we have "vivens" interlarded between two ablatives or accusatives, and the suspicion of forgery arises at once, even as it is strengthened by the following "civis brixianus," where one would have expected "civem brixianum" or *cive brixiano*."

Internally the case is even worse. If, as Tamassia shows, we have before us a case of Justinian law, why does Staviles call himself a citizen of Brescia who lives by the law of the Goths? This document would, then, be the only one where Ostrogothic law is recognized as "Gothic" and where the specific reference, at that, is to the Justinian Code. There never existed a special Ostrogothic law. When Theodoric promulgated his Edict, he specially mentioned that Romans and Goths were to be guided by the same laws,¹ and, although a special *comitiva Gothorum* was established by him to hear cases between Goths, there does not exist any reference to special Gothic laws by which they were to be guided.²

¹ "Praesentia iussimus edicta pendere: ut salva iuris publici reverentia, et legibus omnibus cunctorum devotione servandis, quae barbari Romanique sequi debeant super expressis articulis, edictis praesentibus evidenter cognoscant. 34. Nemo, aut Romanus, aut barbarus, rem petat alienam. 43. Nullus ad potentem Romanum aut barbarum proprias quolibet titulo transferat actiones. 44. Nullus se potens Romanus aut barbarus tamquam defensor aut suffragator negotio misceat. 155. Quae omnium barbarorum sive Romanorum debet servare devotio."

² Cassiodorus, *Variae* VII. 3. Martroye (*L'occident à l'époque byzantine*, Paris 1904, p. 96) makes a ridiculous mistake when he translates, "necessarium duximus, illum sublimem virum, bonis nobis moribus hactenus comprobatum, ad vos comitem destinare, qui secundum edicta nostra inter duos Gothos litem debet amputare, si quod etiam inter Gothum et Romanum natum fuerit fortasse negotium, adhibito sibi prudente Romano certamen possit aequabili ratione discingere. inter duos autem Romanos Romani audiant, quos per provincias dirigimus cognitores, ut unicuique sua iura serrentur et sub diversitate iudicum una iustitia complectatur universos," as follows: "ainsi, chacun conservera ses lois et, malgré la diversité de législation, il y aura pour tous une même justice." In the first place, *iura* means "rights," and not "laws;" in the second place, *sub diversitate iudicum* means "although there be a variety of judges," and not "in spite of a diversity of legislation." All that Cassiodorus says is that both Romans and Goths should get their rights and, in spite of a diversity of judges, should be treated with the same justice.

Wherever we have genuine documents in which *lex Gothorum* is mentioned, the reference is distinctly to Visigothic law.¹ These documents are all from that part of the Frankish Empire in which Goths were settled by Charlemagne and his successors. We still hear of the Gothic law at the end of the eleventh century,² and it was only in 1251 that it was abrogated in Catalonia.³ There is, therefore, nothing remarkable in the fact that in Mantuan territory there should be found a document of the year 1045, in which there is reference to men who profess the Gothic Law.⁴ Indeed, the Langobard Cartulary, of about the year 1000, specifically provides for certain legal procedures, in case the person concerned is a Goth,⁵ and we have even later references to the choice left for the profession of laws under which one lived.⁶ But the most damaging fact against the genuineness of our document is to be found in the identification of Staviles as a Goth. Tamassia unconsciously changes *Staviles* to *Stavila*, and thus

¹ "Tunc decrevimus iudicium per lege Gotorum" (836), Devic and Vaissete, *Histoire de Languedoc*, vol. II, Preuves, col. 198; "perquam-sivimus in lege Gothorum (852), *ibid.*, col. 238; "perquisivimus in lege Cotorum" (862), *ibid.*, col. 335; "nos autem perquisimus in Lege Gotorum" (874), *ibid.*, col. 374; "et lex Gothorum de hac causa commemorat dicens" (843), Marca, *Marca hispanica*, col. 780; "nos autem perquisivimus in lege Gothorum" (874), col. 797, (879), *ibid.*, cols. 805, 809, 811; "legis sententiam quae in libro VII Gothico tit. V, cap. II continetur" (986), *ibid.*, col. 933; "secundum legem quae continetur libro V tit. V" (1019), *ibid.*, col. 1015; "quod sancitum est in lege per doctoribus in libro Goticum" (1030), *ibid.*, col. 1048; "et leges Gothorum ita iubentur" (1054), *ibid.*, col. 1102; "sicut lex Gothorum commemorat" (881), J. Villanueva, *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, Madrid 1850, vol. XIII, p. 232.

² "Judicaverunt secundum auctoritatem legis Gotticae" (1091), Marca, *op. cit.*, col. 1192.

³ "Item statuimus consilio praedictorum quod leges Romanae vel Gothicae, decreta vel decretales in causis secularibus non recipiantur, admittantur, indicentur, vel allegentur," *ibid.*, col. 1439.

⁴ Tamassia, *op. cit.*, p. 132 f.

⁵ "Si est Gothus vel Alamannus venditor, pone cartulam in terram," MGH., *Leges*, vol. IV, p. 595.

⁶ "Punitur in rebus, et Persona secundum Legem Municipalem nostre Civitatis, vel Legem Lombardorum, vel Lege Romana," G. Giuliani, *Memorie spettanti alla storia . . . di Milano*, vol. IV, Milano 1855, p. 238.

justifies his assumption. But the father of Staviles is Benignus, and the mother bears the equally genuine Roman name of Benedicta; then how can Staviles be a Goth or even a half-Goth, unless we have the "lettres intimes" of his mother Benedicta to prove the case? Besides, *Staviles* is nothing but *Stabilis*, a good Latin word that needs no commentary.¹

We now turn to the famous Naples document which has formed the basis of many Gothic deductions. As this must be subject to a close scrutiny, I shall reproduce it as given by H. F. Massmann.²

1.bus...c...uj
2.omnes supradicta.....loc^a (a)d solj.....
.....nus...s(o)...
3. ..nsor exauct^{ae} (c)astri. possiderj....(m)o(n)...
4.interposit^a. cau(ti)onis. nostrae-adstringit..
5.emus-obnoxii. Jt^a-Jn tuae-dominatjonis. her-
edumque-tuorum-Jur^au(i)
6. (mu)s nobis-a-te-supra-centum-uigintj-s(o)l(i)d-
(os)....praecidenti temp[ore]
7. ...si(r)nus nobis et-his qui absentes sint. sub-
eo-praetexto. mutu^a...st...
8. ...s aljos sex^aginta-auri-solidos.....
9.(m) Jn-sedecim- annos-undecim.....
10.f^aciunt-Jn uno aurj solidos cent(v) [octag-
inta].....
11.singuli-et Jn-soljdu(m) (n)os (o)bl(i)g.....
12. (ace)ep(i)sse-profitemur- etsi qu^a(n)tum ad tem-
pus pium est omn[i]
13. modo quod nobis t^aLe-m^agno-praetjo adJmpl-
jsti. ^agentes etj^am deo et-tjb(i)

¹ "Istabilis presbyter" (799), *Mem. e Doc. di Lucca*, vol. IV, p. 23, "ego *Stabilis* presbyter" (800), *ibid.*, vol. V², p. 172, "*Stabilis*" (751), *Annali Bolognesi*, Bassano 1784, vol. I, part II, p. 4.

² *Frabauhiabokos oder die gothischen Urkunden von Neapel und Arezzo*, München 1837.

14. qui id tuis remediis. nobis subuenisti *ac grauibus nos periculis*
15. eljuer^ares. ut ergo debitum sstum. tr^{ans}siret. Jn pr(a)e(t)Jo et communis-
16. definitjone-consensus. possessionis-tibi. utriusque mut^aret-arbitrj.
17. qu^a propter-praef^{at}a. octo-unci^as paludis cum omnibus ad se pertjnentj
18. bus uel-ad Jacentjbus. praedictae Jurjs ecc-Lesiae-nostrae-nobis. scilicet
19. competentes. huJus-Jn solutum cessionis-tibi-sol-Lemnit^ate-conce(di)
20. mus. tr^{ans}. ferentes. uniuersum Legaliter ejusdem paludis uel-om
21. ni^a sibi adJacentj^a Jus. ad tua-Jura-dominjumque praese(ntis) (in?)
22. (seriem) documentj. quod J^am non ut-creditor. sed ut-dominus
23. Legitjma-ualedit^ate perfectus ab huJus temporis. hac Jn solu
24. tum cessione posside^as. habiturus ljcetj^am possidendi. nec
25. non ad tuos posteros tr^{ans}ferendi uel-quibus-cumq^e contr [^ac]
26. tibus aljen^are-maluerjs cunctis. emptjonis. et-uenditjonis. solLe[m]
27. nibus: quae-Legum praefixit-auctorjt^as. huic contractui compite[n]
28. ter-adhibitjs. aeuictjonis. duplarjae robore p^arjter-adtrjbut[is]
29. rej quoque meljorat^e expensis adque laborjbus tjbi simu(l)
30. p^ariter uniuersaliter-s^arciendis. si quis praedict^as paludes
31. (u)nivers^a sidj ad Jacentja-uel-prop^aрте-aut-Jn Jntegro. quod abs[it?]

32. aeuicerjt. quatenus Jn duplum tjbi. ^anobis cunct^a-
Leg^aljter-JmpL[eatur]
33. sicut-Leges Jn-uenditjonum contractibus consti-
tuisse *monstr*[^antur]
34. Jllud etj^am spondimus singulj aLterutrum Jn
uicem nos obljg^a[ntes]
35. adque-fide-dicentes. utsi forte-quis. conministro-
rum nostroru(m)
36. qui-nunc-absentes sunt. quoljbet-tempore-redi-
entes contr^a
37. h^anc nostr^am deljueratjonem-quod non credimus
e(ss)e . . . temp
38. tauerjnt. siue-Jpsi aut-forsit^an futurus episcopus.
tunc pro
39. mittimus nos. aut-de-reditibus sst^ae-eccLesiae-
nostrae e *p(rae)*
40. *sentibus (uel) quod (serius) accipimus* Jn-praetjo
ejs. re-conpen
41. s^are-aut-certe-si habuerjmus alj quid uenund^are
ex praetjo portj[o]
42. nis nostrae-ejsdem uniuers^a-portjone-eorum qui.
aduenerjnt ad Jm
43. plere. minus ne-de-proprijis f^acultatibus. nostris.
ejsdem utdixi^{ms}
44. satjsfacere-polljcemur. sine-cuJus-libet-Judicis
auctorjtatem. et [*pro?*]
45. Jndempnit^atem tu^am heredumque-tuorum. nos
heredesque-nostrj
46. ex omnibus perjculjs. salu^am f^acere-per-hunc
documentum spondem[us]
47. absque-aljqua-aLterc^atjone-ueL-controuersia:
-nullo ue-tempore-ue[l]
48. qu^andoque-nos-heredesque-nostrj sint-^absolutj
si-quod-absit-uos hered[es]
49. [ue uostri(ue)l h(ucs)qu(e) (a)ljqu^a-sustenueri-
^{ti}s detrjmenta-donhaec uobis omni[s quan]

50. *tjt^a s quae-nobis Jn-praetjo est per-hoc-documen-
to complet^a-Jn Jntegro s[e]*
51. *cundum Leges. et-aedict^a cunct^a-^anobis nostris-
que-hhbus tjbi tuisqu[e]*
52. *posterjs JmpLe^antur-et-ad cumulum tuae-firmit-
^atjs dominii ssta [emptio]*
53. *centum uigintj solidorum ^anobis-tjbi emiss^a-pro
tui dominii utilit(atem?)*
54. *firmitatem penes te-placuit-residerj. ut-Jn pos-
terum qualibe[t]*
55. *nostra heredumque-nostrorum ueL-conljuertorm.
Comministror(um [nos*
56. *trorum publico-prju^atoe-judicio repetitio ueL
causatjo sit-general[iter]*
57. *anput^at^a-aquilj^anae-quoque nerui^aneque-Legum
uigore subJungent [...]*
58. *sed ex stipulatjonis ualedit^ate-Legitjm^a solLem-
nit^ate-adiejentj [tra*
59. *(dit)Jo(n)em praeterea-corporaLem pro tr^anslat-
Jone-domini(i) no(stri*
60. *fide-publja-et-testimonio: tjbi ss petro ur def³
conp^aratori ^actorib(us)*
61. *que-tuis Juxt^a-fidem traditjonis epistule huic
documento-consent[jentes]*
62. *fierj: d^amus-tribuimus et-concedimus ljcentj^am
Jt^a-ut-Jn traditj[one*
63. *corporaLe-facienda-Jn nullo penitus nostra-ex-
ploretur-nec quaer[^atur*
64. *praesentja. omni. uis. metus. ac dolj suspicione-
caLeat^a uniuer*
65. *sis praetere^a refr^ag^atjonibus cautj-et-non numer-
atj quaestioni*
66. *busque-sublatjs. quia et-^antea-ut superjus-Inter-
f^atj sumus centum*

67. uigintj solidos c^apit^aneos a-te-secundum fidem
cautjonis qui nostris
68. nostrorumque-omnium necessitatibus profecerunt
accepisse
69. ostendimus et-nunc reliquos sex^aginta-aurj solidos
numeratjo(ne
70. fact^a-et-traditionem Jn praetjo rej sste-reput^atjs
ut-superjus. Legit(ur)
71. accepisse dinoscimur. qui f^aciunt-Jn uno aurj
solidos centum oct(a)
72. gint^a excepto decem solidos qui nobis de-unsura
a te-sunt relax^atj
73. hoc autem Jn-solutum cessionis uenditjonisque-
documentum de
74. usdedit-forensi ciuit^atis classis r^auue noto rog^a-
trjoque nostro scr(i)
75. dendum dictauimus. Jn quo subter posteaqu^am
nobis-ad singula es(t
76. ad-scribtore reljetum diligenter Jntelligenter
m^anibus nostris sus
77. scribtjones uel-sign^a-Jnpraessimus. simul-et-
testes p^ariter-at-susc[ri]
78. berent-conrogauimus allig^andi-quoque-archiuali-
bus-gestis ubiubi
79. uel-qu^andoque-eligeritjs. omiss^a-nostr^a-profes-
sione-d^amus tribui
80. mus et concedimus ljc^aentj^am stipulantjque-tjbi
petro ūr def^o
81. conp^aratorj spopondimus nosqsq^s. uniuersus
cLerus Jd est (...?)
82. opt^arjt-et uit^alj^anus praesbs sⁿefridus dia^cs
petrus subdiac(ſ?)
83. uuilj^arit-et-paulus cLerici.nec non et-minnulus
et d^aniheLⁱ theudj
84. l^a-mirjea-et-sindil^a-spodej. costila-gudeljuus
guderjt-hosbat-et-b(e)

85. nenatus usti^arji. uuilj^arjt-et-malatheus. Jdem-
spodej singulj et-Jn so
86. ljdo Jn-uicem nos Jnnod^antes cendentes ac-
uenditores
87. ad omni^a-ss^a-actum diae-et decies p̃c s̃sti
88. ufitahari
89. ik papa-ufmida-handau-meinai-jah andnemun
90. skilliggans , (j. jah-faurthis-thairh-kawtsjon
mith
91. diakuna alamoda-unsar^{ma}_{am}-dau-jah-mith-gahlai-
ba(im)
92. unsaraim-ananemun-skilliggans r̃k wairth thize
s(aiwe)
93. signum uit^alj^ani praesbj s̃stj uenditoris qui
f^a(cien)
94. te-Jnuecillit^ate-oculorum suscribere-non potuit
signum f(eit)
95. ik sunjaifrithas- diakon handau-meinai-ufmelida-
jah andn(emum)
96. skilliggans -j- jah fauthis-thairh kawtsjon mith
diakona (ala)
97. moda-unsaramma-jah mith-gahlaibaim unsaraim-
andnemun sk(il)
98. liggans -r̃k- wairth-thize-saiwe
99. Ego-petrus-subdiaes aclisie-gotice-sancte-anasta-
sie-uic-Jn-solutum [cessio]
100. nis- uenditionisque-et-documentum-padulis s̃sto-
rum cum omnibus [ad se]
101. pertJnentJbus a-me-uel-sstis-colljuertIs-uel-con-
ministri(s) [meis] fa[ctum ti]
102. bi s̃sto-petro ūr def³ comparatori ad omnia s̃sta
relegi consens(i et sus)
103. scribsi et-testes ud suscriberent-parjter-conrogau-
imus-et-pretju(m)
104. centu-octogJnta soljdos-Jd-est centum-uigJnt-J
per cautJone a[ntea]

105. accepisse-profitemur-et-nunc-de-presentJ-aljos-
sexagJnta-so[lidos]
106. *percipimus*
107. signum uuil^arit clerici sstj uenditorjs-qui-faci-
en[te]
108. Jnuecillit^ate-oculorum suscribere-non potuit-
Jdeoque-signm f[ecit]
109. Ego paulus clerjeus ecclesie-legis-gothorm sca
anastasio-huic-docu(men)
110. tum a-nobis-factum suscripsi et-pretjum aurj
solidos cento octagint^a
111. (ho)c est-cento uigintj per-cautione antea ac-
cepimus et-nunc de-pr(esenti)
112. alius sex aginta solidos de-presentj percepisse-
uidemur-pro padu(les) sstas
- 113.
114. Eg)o defensor huic-documento a-nobis facto sus-
crisbj et-pretjo aurj s(oli)
115. (do)s centu octoginta (ho)c est centum uigintj
per cautjone ante^a accep(isse)
116. ui(demus de presentj a(l)jus sexaginta solidos
de presentj perce(pisse)
117. ui)demur pro padules ss
118. Ego uuillienant huic documentō a-nobis factū
sus cripsi et pretiū aurj solidos [cento]
119. octaginta hoc est centum uiginti per cautione
antea accepimus et nunc [de pre]
120. senti alius sessagJnta-solidos de-presenti per-
cepisse uidemur-pro padules-suprascr[iptas]
121. Ego igila huic-documentum a-nobis-factu sus-
cripsi et-pretjo aurj solidos centum uig[inti]
122. (p)er cautione-antea accepim^s et-nuc de-presente
alius sexaginta-solidos-de (presen)
123. ¶ (ti) percepisse uidemur pro padules suprascriptas

124. Ego theudila-clericus ecclesie ss-legis gothorum
sce-anastasio-hu(ic)
125. documento de-padules ss a-nouis factum
suscripsi et cento uigin[ti so]
126. (l)idus antea accipimus per-cautjone-et nunc-de-
presenti-aljus se(x^a)
127. gin)ta-solidos accipimus huc sic fient-solidi centu
octaginta
128. ik merila-bokareis handau meinai ufmelida-jah
andnem(um)
129. skilliggans -j- jah faurthis-thairh kawtsjon jah
mith diaku(na ala)
130. moda-unsaramma-jah mith gahlaibim unsaraim
andnenum s(killig)
131. gans : r:k; wairth thize saiwe
132. sig(num) sinthil^anis spodej sst^ae-b^asilic^ae-goth-
orm u)enditoris)
133. signum costil^anis usti^arji sst^ae b^asilic^ae-gothorm
u(enditoris)
134. signum gudeljui usti^arii sst^ae-b^asilic^ae-gothorm
uendjtor(is)
135. signum guderit-usti^arji ss-b^asilicae-gothorum
uenditori(s)
136. signum hosbat usti^arji ss b^asiljce-gothorm u(en-
ditoris)
137. signum benenatj usti^arii ss-b^asilice-gothorum
(uenditoris)
138. ik wiljarith bokareis-handau meinai ufmelida-jah
a(ndnenum)
139. (s)killigngnans .j. jah faurthis-thairh kawtsjon
jah (mith diakona)
140. alamoda unsaramma jah mith gahlaibaim unsa-
(raim andne)
141. (m)um skilli(g)gans .r.k. wairthize saiwe.

This document is a forgery by Spanish Visigoths, based upon some genuine document of the sixth century, and made about or after the year 800. That it is a copy appears at once from line 18. Obviously the original had it "*uel adjacentibus juris praedictae ecclesiae nostrae*," that is, "with all the appurtenances belonging to the above-mentioned church." But the forger, who was ignorant or careless of the fine distinction between *jus* and *lex*, had to prove that the church was under the "Gothic law," that is, he had to show that the property had been sold by the church at a time when it had already been under the Gothic law, so he changed the position of "*juris*" and "*praedictae*," in order to make it appear that the appurtenances were of "the above-mentioned *lex* of our church," that is, under Gothic law. However, the forger forgot to change the gender of "*praedictae*," to make it agree with "*juris*," and thus the forgery is apparent. The transposition of the two words could never have happened if it had been an original, for the mistake is unique and due to design. No notary of the sixth century would have mistaken *jus* for *lex*, especially since *jus* is correctly used when referring to the rights of the party purchasing the estate. But the line in which this occurs once more proves that the forger had made the change in line 18 on purpose, for here he again speaks of *jus*, when it refers to the church, as though it meant *lex*. In line 21, we read "*omnia sibi adjacentia jus. ad tua jura dominiumque (transferentes)*," by which the forger meant to say, "we transfer all the appurtenances of the Gothic church to your rights and possession," whereas it should have been, "*omnia sibi adjacentia ex jure nostro ad tua jura dominiumque*," "we transfer all the appurtenances of the salt marsh from our right to yours." The Arezzo document,¹ which

¹ Massmann, *op. cit.*, p. 16, line 1 ff.

is also a forgery, is absolutely correct on the point of *jus*, for it reads, "cum portione aedificii et omni jure earum omnibusque, ad se pertinentib, sicut ab eo jure...affines fundum Villa magna quod est juris ueteris senioribus suorum et fundum Quarantula quod est juris Constantii."

Up to the signatures the forgery apparently followed the original down to minute points, even as to the use of capital L, which disappears completely from line 88 on, although according to the law the notary Deusdedit should have written also all the statements of the signers who could not sign their own names. Yet, while Deusdedit writes "cLerus, cLerici" in the body of the document, we find only "clerici, basilica" in the signatures. Again, it is very suspicious that six of the illiterate signers should come in precisely the same order as they are given in the body of the document. It is inconceivable that the notary should purposely have classed all the illiterates together. If it be assumed that all the *ustuarii* were illiterates, that does not hold in the case of Sindila, who is a *spodeus*, apparently a reader, for the other *spodei* do sign in their own names.

The persons who were used by the forger to sign their names over their own statements, in order to give credibility to the genuineness of the document, had a hard time to follow the original and gave themselves away in a number of instances. The most marked one is their inability to write "*paludes*," the correct form in the sixth century, but constantly falling into "*padules*," the current one in the seventh and following centuries. Igila, according to Massmann, wrote "*padudes*," although in the document he makes him write "*paludes*." But the most interesting blunders made by the signers are their names. In the majority of cases they managed to stick to those

given in the document, but in a few cases they made amusing mistakes. *Mirica* was read as *Merila*, *Minulus-et* produced *Willienant*, while *D^anihel* was understood as *Dominus Ihel* and produced the Gothic *Igila*. The assumption that *Merila*, *Willienant*, *Igila* are the Gothic correspondents of the Latin names is absurd, because we have not a single recorded correspondence of such names. In fact, it would have been fatal for any document to have the names in the signatures different from those given in the body of the document. If the Goths were anxious to give their Gothic names, they could have done so in the document itself. As it is, the mere calligraphic blundering fully accounts for the mistakes made.

The church, which in the document is merely mentioned as "*ecclesia nostra*," though its name may have been given in the lost lines, occurs in the signatures under the following appellations: *Basilica Gothorum*, *Ecclesia legis Gothorum Sancte Anastasie*, *Ecclesia Gotica Sancte Anastasie*. Agnellus,¹ who about 840 gave an account of the Gothic churches at Ravenna which had been turned into Catholic churches under Justinian by Bishop Bibliothecarius Agnellus, gives no name *Sancta Anastasia*, and this is generally explained as due to the fact that he gave only the names of the churches when they were already Catholic. But Agnellus mentions no changes in the names, and the fact that he says "he made such and such a church orthodox"² shows that he is mentioning the old names, for otherwise he would say something like this, "he made such and such a church orthodox and named it so and so." Indeed, he mentions in one case that a different monastery, at least by name, was connected with a

¹ MGH., *Scriptores rerum Langobardorum*, p. 275 ff.

² "Reconciliavit ecclesiam S. Eusebii sacerdotis et martyris, quae sita est non longe a campo Coriandri extra urbem, Id. Novenbris, quam aedificavit Unimundus episcopus anno 24. Theodorici regis," etc., *ibid.*, p. 334.

given church.¹ But we do have the positive knowledge that a Gothic church existed in Ravenna in the beginning of the eleventh century, of which the memory persisted into the sixteenth century, although it was already deserted in the thirteenth and destroyed in the fifteenth century.² Since, in 1001 the reference is to a *domus Ecclesiae Gothorum*, we at once conclude that it had an episcopal see, because *domus* refers to the episcopal building connected with a church, hence the church might well be called *Basilica Gothorum*. Now, it is a curious fact that we not only find in our document the mention of *Ecclesia Gothorum*, as though there was only one in Ravenna, but in the only other Ravenna document where we have a reference to *lex Gothorum*, the notary, or forger, distinctly speaks of but one church,³ a totally incredible thing, since we know from Agnellus that there had been six churches there. But it is Agnellus himself who tells us that in his time, that is, in the first half of the ninth century, there was a Gothic church in Ravenna.⁴ Since this church was near the Monastery of St. Andrew it is not identical with any of the six churches which had been re-

¹ "Infra urbem vero Ravennam ecclesiam S. Theodori non longe a domo Droedonis, qua domus una cum balneo et sancti Apolenaris monasterio, quod in superiora domus structum, episcopium ipsius ecclesiae fuit. Et ubi nunc est monasterium sancta et semper virginis intemeratae Marie, fontes praedictae martiris ecclesia fuerunt," *ibid.*

² "In pariete domus Ecclesiae Gothorum" (1001), Fantuzzi, *Monumenti ravennati de' secoli di mezzo*, Venezia 1801-4, vol. II, p. 346; "prope Ecclesiam Gothorum" (1041), *ibid.*, p. 307; "in Regione Ecclesiae Gotorum" (1169), *ibid.*, p. 334; "prope Ecclesiam Gothorum" (1195), *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 397; "item additum est quod Ecclesia Gothorum non possit destrui nec destruat ab aliquo modo vel in parte vel toto" (XIII. cent.), *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 142; "e perchè appo el luogo, che si hà ad fabricar questa Fortezza ne he una grande antigaglia, che fò una Chiesa de Ghoti, la quale non ruinando saria una bastia a questa Fortezza, anche le piere de quella farà bonamente tutte le fondamenta di quella Fortezza" (1455), *ibid.*, p. 494.

³ "Minnulus, clericus legis Gotorum, clericus ecclesiae Gotorum Rāv., clericus legis Gotorum ecl. Rāv.," Marini, p. 178 f.

⁴ "In monasterio sancti Andreae apostoli, quod est fundatum non longe ab ecclesia Gothorum, prope domum quod vocatur Mariniana," *MGH., Script. rer. Langob.*, p. 357.

consecrated from the Arian Gothic churches.¹ In fact, it is doubtful whether that monastery was already in existence then, for the reference is to the year 677. But that Agnellus had in mind the particular church which was called *Ecclesia Gothorum* is proved conclusively by the survival of the name in that particular locality as *Villa S. Andree de Godio* as late as the fourteenth century,² and of the church as *S. Andreae de Ghotis* even as late as the year 1578.³ Since Agnellus assures us that all the properties of the Goths had been turned over to the Ravenna Church,⁴ the particular Gothic church could not have survived from Arian times. It is beyond any doubt a new church, a part of the orthodox Catholic churches of Ravenna, established for those Frankish Goths that swarmed in Italy after the conquest by Charlemagne, who gave the Goths the specific right to live by the *lex Gothorum*.⁵ It is true, the privilege was intend-

¹ "Iste beatissimus omnes Gothorum Ecclesias reconciliavit, quae Gothorum temporibus vel regis Theodorici constructae sunt, quae Ariana perfidia et haeticorum secta doctrina, et credulitate tenebantur," Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. CVI, col. 619.

² Fantuzzi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 91 (1371).

³ "Pertinentiis olim Ecclesiae S. Andreae de Ghotis," *ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 216.

⁴ "Omnes Gothorum substantias huic ecclesiae et B. Agnello episcopo habere concessit, non solum in urbibus, sed in suburbanis villis, et viculis etiam, et templa, et aras, servos, et ancillas, quidquid ad eorum jus, vel ritum Paganorum pertinere potuit, omnia huic condonavit, et concessit, et per privilegia confirmavit, et corporaliter per epistolam tradi fecit," Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 619.

⁵ "Ipsi (Hispani) vero pro maioribus causis, sicut sunt homicidia... ad comitis sui mallum omnimodis venire non recusent. Ceteras vero minores causas more suo, sicut hactenus fecisse noscuntur, inter se mutuo definire non prohibeantur," *Constitutio de Hispanis prima*, anno 815, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Capitularia*, vol. I, p. 262; "et nisi pro tribus criminalibus actionibus, id est homicidio, rapto et incendio, nec ipsi nec eorum homines a quolibet comite aut ministro iudiciariae potestatis ullo modo iudicentur aut distringantur; sed liceat ipsis secundum eorum legem de aliis criminibus iudicia terminare et praeter haec tria et de se et de eorum hominibus secundum propriam legem omnia mutuo definire" (844), *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 259; "et omnes eorum possessiones sive aprisiones inter se vendere, concambiare seu donare posterisque relinquere omnino liceat; et si filios aut nepotes non habuerint, iuxta legem eorum (*Lex Visig.*, IV. 2, 2, 3) alii ipsorum propinqui illis hereditando succedant, ita videlicet, ut quicumque successerint servitia superius memorata persolvere non contemnant" (846), *ibid.*, p. 260.

ed for the Goths of Aquitaine, Septimania, the Provence and Spain, but as any person was permitted in the Frankish Empire to profess his own law, it is obvious that if there were any Visigoths in Italy they must have lived by the Visigothic Law, that is, they would have referred, wherever necessary, to their "*viventes lege Gothorum*," as we have found them saying in all their court proceedings in Gothia. This assumption is proved conclusively by a marginal note of the fifteenth century to Agnellus' *Liber pontificalis*, which says that the Monastery of Saint Stephen was near the church of Saint Andrew of the Goths, which is vulgarly called the Gothic church.¹ As the Monastery of St. Andrew was a Catholic institution, the church of St. Andrew of the Goths must have been Catholic. Now St. Andrew is not only mentioned in the Mozarabic Calendar on November 30, but also in the Gothic calendar under November 29. Of course, the late reference to the Gothic church, though correct in the main, may be faulty as to particulars. We see from the documents that the name of the church was originally St. Anastasia, unless there were two Gothic churches in Ravenna. In any case, the reference can be only to a Catholic Gothic church.

The forgers were anxious to state that they held certain property, or had sold certain estates, in accordance with the Gothic law, and where it was important to date such a document back to the sixth century, on the basis of certain genuine documents once issued by the Ostrogoths, they committed the anachronism of still speaking of the "Gothic law" as the basis of their holdings. The Goths were expert calligraphers,² and their tampering with documents led them at least once into grave trouble. We have the names of two Goths

¹ MGH., *Scrip. rer. Langob.*, p. 327.

² See my *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents*, Cambridge 1915, p. XL.

who in 874 held a church and church property on the basis of forged donations.¹ The theory that the technical expression *lex Gothorum* does not mean "Visigothic law," but "Arian religion," as held by all who have written on the subject, is absurd. While we have *lex christiana, canonica, evangelica* for "Christian religion," it would be impossible to find a single case where *lex Francorum*, etc., would stand for "Christianity." There is not one attested case where *lex Gothorum* means "Arianism." Indeed, it would have been a bit of arrogance on the part of the Goths to identify themselves exclusively with the Arians. Wherever we find *lex Gothorum* in a sensible context, it means the Visigothic law, and nothing else. Those who maintain that *lex Gothorum* here means "Arianism" are moving in a vicious circle from which there is no issue.

The Gothic signatures are clearly forgeries, for we do not possess another document from Ravenna in which the signatures are in anything but Latin. Although Ravenna was under Byzantine influence for two centuries, the signatures of Greeks are invariably in Latin, but with Greek letters.² Apparently the

¹ "De hoc, quod se reclamavit, quia Gotus quidam Madascius fraude atque subreptione per praeceptum ecclesiam sancti Stephani nobilem et antiquam impetravit, ubi postposito Dei cultu foeda efficitur conversatio rusticorum, et similiter Ricosindus Gotus fraude et subreptione agrum sanctae Eulaliae per praeceptum obtinuit, iussio regia haec per fideles missos diligenter et veraciter inquirere iubeat, et ipsam inquisitionem per fidelium custodiam sub sigillo ad notitiam suam perferri faciat. Et si inventum fuerit, quod praedicta ecclesia sancti Stephani et ager sanctae Eulaliae a praefatis Gotis per praecepta obtenta sunt, ipsa praecepta secundum legem sigillantur et una cum ipsa inquisitione ad praesentiam regiam perferantur, ut secundum iura forensia, qui in precibus fuere mentiti, non illis prosint, quae impetraverunt, et ibi careant ipso scriptorum beneficio, quo perducentur rescripta, et regia magnificentia recipiat quod est sui iuris Barcinonensis ecclesia," *Capitularia*, vol. II, p. 460. In 878 at least Ricosindus was proved to be a forger: "Concedimus ei agrum suum prope civitatem Barchinonam, quem hactenus Gotus, nomine Recosindus, de potestate Iohannis episcopi tulit et absque lege tenuit," *ibid.*

² Marini, No. LXXV (575), p. 116, No. XCIII (VI. cent.), p. 145, No. CX, p. 170, No. CXIV (539 or 546), p. 174, No. CXXI (end of VI. cent.), p. 186, No. CXXII (591), p. 188 f.

notary dictated the Latin formula to those who could form only the Greek letters. But in the whole range of the Ravenna documents there is not one that is written in anything but Latin. It is true, in Naples and in the extreme south of Italy, where the population was chiefly Greek, we have signatures in both Latin and Greek. That is only natural, because the Roman laws, hence the notarial attitude towards them, could find its expression in either language. There is not a single document in existence, in which the Roman law found its expression in any other language, certainly not in the sixth century. But we have also internal evidences that the Gothic used in the signatures cannot be older than of the end of the eighth century.

The *solidi* of the text is translated by *skilliggans*. It will be easy to show that the latter is a Frankish term, hence could not have made its appearance in Ravenna before the end of the eighth century. The denomination of the smaller coins in all the Germanic languages have their origin in the current Roman term for purity of gold. I shall begin with the Alamannian and Bavarian word for coin of the smaller fines, the *saiga*.

In the *Lex Alamannorum* the *saiga* is given as the equivalent of the *denarius* and as forming one twelfth of the *solidus*.¹ This is identical with the values given in the *Tabulae Oribasianae*, of uncertain origin, but certainly not earlier than the fifth century.² Here we have τὸ σάγιον ἔχει ἐξάγιον ἄ,³ δηνάριον ἦτοι σάγιον εἶν,⁴ that is, the basis of calculation is the ἐξάγιον which Constantine introduced as the basis of gold values, and which, as I have shown elsewhere,

¹ Ad. Soetbeer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geld- und Münzwesens in Deutschland*, in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, vol. II, 325 ff.

² F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, Lipsiae 1864, p. 87.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

was misread as *σάγιον*,¹ and led to the Arabic gold standard of the *tarenî*. It is obvious that the Alamanian *saiga*, which is the equivalent of the *denarius*, and for which we also find the writing *sagia*, is nothing but Constantine's *exagium*, that is the standard of values on which the silver *solidus* was constructed. In the Bavarian laws we also find *saica*, *saiga*, but it is not easy to ascertain what the real value of this coin was.² From the equation *saiga id est 3 denarii*, also *5 denarii*, it would appear that there was here a confusion with the *siliqua* of later times.

In the Frankish Empire the purity of gold was expressed by two terms, *excoctum* and *siliqua*. The first took the place of the older *obryzum*.³ Luschin von Ebengreuth has shown⁴ that the *scat* of the Franks was identical with the *denarius*, and that the reference to the *scazwurf* when a widow was given away in marriage should, in the Salic law, read, "ille qui viduam accipere debet, tres solidos aequè pensantes et *scat* (instead of *dinario*) habere debet." Obviously "aequè pensantes et *scat*" could mean only "of full weight and purity." The equation of *scaz* and *denarius* is found in the Hrabanian Glosses, but elsewhere in Old High German *scaz* stands for "obolus, stater, dragma," etc., that is, for any coin, and ends up by meaning "property" in general, and in some Germanic languages, as well as in Slavic, "cattle." In the Anglo-Saxon laws *sceatt* means primarily "money, property," then also "a very small coin, a twentieth of a shilling." It also meant "tribute, that is, tithe," and as such was more commonly known as *scot*, preserving a still closer resemblance to the original *excoctum*.

¹ See my *Byzantinisches* IV, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1913, vol. XXXVII, p. 591 ff.

² Soetbeer, *op. cit.*, p. 330 ff.

³ See my *Commentary to the Germanic Laws*, p. 181 f.

⁴ *Der Denar der Lex salica*, in *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. CLXIII, part IV, 58 f.

In the Visigothic and Langobard laws *siliqua* frequently occurs, in the usual sense of a twenty-fourth of a *solidus*. It is never used there in any other sense than that of a fractional gold or silver currency, even as it was used in the same sense in Italy in the sixth century. But matters stood quite differently in Frankish territory as regards the particular connotation which *siliqua* there acquired. Beginning with about the middle of the sixth century the gold coins of France generally bear an inscription FACIT DE SELEQAS or FIT DE SELEQAS, after which, since these coins are for the most part tremisses, comes the figure VIII or VII, to indicate that the solidus consisted of 24 siliquas of standard value, or of $22\frac{1}{2}$ of the debased valuation of the end of the sixth century.¹ This constant use of *siliqua*, which seems to have been inaugurated by Justinian in his coinage at Treves, led to the generalization of *siliqua* as "standard money," especially in the sense of "standard solidus." Hence we have in Old High German "*silihha* numisma, nummi; *silihha* trio: siliquas tres; numi percussa: *silihha* duruhslagen, das ist pfantine; obolum, dimidium scriptuli, quod facit siliquas tres: stuchi, halb scriptulus, daz tot *silihhum* tri."² By the side of *silihha*, which preserves more closely the original meaning of Lat. *siliqua*, there arises also a variant form *scillinga* for any gold or silver coin, especially such as was worn as a trinket by women.³ But more correctly it stands for "aureus," the Merovingian equivalent for "solidus."⁴ In England the *scilling* is given as an equiv-

¹ Luschin von Ebengreuth, *op. cit.*, p. 27 ff.

² Soetbeer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 278.

³ "Lunulas quas mulieres portant de auro uel argento similitudine lune diminutiae sic dicuntur hlibas uel *scillingas*," Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, vol. I, p. 589.

⁴ "Uaga ist *silihono*, so sune zafastinont, unce ainan *scillinga* sehsi, stater est nummus, ut quidam affirmant, unciam unam aureos sex," Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*.

alent of "obolus, dragma, stater, denarius, solidus," because it did not represent any particular coin, but "good coin" in general. However, it is also taken as a distinct value, standing for from three to five denarii, that is, it corresponds more nearly to the Bavarian *saica*. From the ninth century on there is a tendency in England to translate *scilling* by *solidus*, which simply shows that the *siliqua* has become the standard of value, at least popularly, and that the *solidus* was now applied to the much lower denomination.

In any case, it is only on Frankish territory that the *scillinga* became the nominal equivalent of what in Latin was designated as *solidus*, and from here this custom spread to England, as the documents show. We have not a single case of such an equation, either in Ostrogothic or Langobard Italy, and none in Visigothic Spain. But in the Visigothic documents we once get the form *sceliqua* for *siliqua*¹ and it is not impossible that the form *celiquas* or *celigas* was common in France,² which would explain, not only the form *scillinga*, but also the curious fact that in the Naples document we seem to have *killigngans* (line 139), while in the Arezzo signature we certainly have *killigggans*. The equation of *solidus* with *skilliggs* could have been made only by one acquainted with Frankish usage, consequently it must have originated in the mind of a Visigoth who had been resident in France, that is, it could have been made only after the year 776, when the Spanish Goths began to settle in France.

We can now proceed to the discussion of two Arabic words which are found in the Gothic documents. One is *frabauhts* "venditio," of the Arezzo document, the other *saiws* "palus," of the Naples document. The Gothic verb *bugjan* is not represented in all the Ger-

¹ MGH., *Lex Visigothorum*, p. 464.

² Luschin von Ebengreuth, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 30.

manic languages. It is found only in Anglo-Saxon *bycgan*, which is not given in any of the old vocabularies, and in Old Saxon *buggean* "to buy." It is obvious that the partial appearance of the word in Germanic, and the late mention in Anglo-Saxon make the Germanic origin of the word more than doubtful. Again, in Gothic *bugjan* not only means "to buy," but it is once given in the sense of "to sell." Just as the oldest expressions for commerce were all borrowed in the Germanic languages from the Romans, including the Anglo-Saxon *ceapian* "to buy," so this Gothic *bugjan* must be borrowed from a nation of superior commercial instincts. Now we have in Arabic a verb

باع *bā'a* "he sold," باعه *bā'ahu* "he bought it," بيع *buy'a*, بُوِيَ *bū'a* "it was sold, bought." The glottal catch, which in the Germanic languages appears as a *g*, is in the Romance languages represented by *r* or *rg*. *Barganaticum*, which stands for some kind of a tax, is found in Frankish documents from the year 763 on,¹ but as all these documents give us no explanation of the precise meaning of the word, we can quote only a document of the year 862, in which *barcaniare* has distinctly the meaning "to trade, haggle, do business with."² In the English laws *barganiare* has distinctly the meaning of "to buy, purchase," and is correctly translated in Anglo-Saxon by "ceapian."³ Hence,

¹ MGH., *Diplomatum Karolinorum*, vol. I, pp. 28, 66, 128, 134, 138.

² "Si autem illum denarium bonum invenerit, consideret aetatem et infirmitatem et sexuy hominis, quia et feminae *barcaniare* solent," *ibid.*, *Capitularia*, vol. II, p. 302.

³ "Quodsi quis extra portum *barganniet*, gif hwa butan porte ceapige," I Eadweard I. 1, 1, F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 139; "et nemo *barganniet* uel ignotum pecus recipiat," III Eadmund V, *ibid.*, p. 191; "ne quis negocietur extra portum—et diximus: nullus emat aliquid extra ciuitatem supra XX den.; sed in ea *barganiet* sub testimonio portireue, be don de mon ne ceapige butan porte—we cwaedon be don þaet mon naenne ceape ne ceapige butan porte ofer XX peniga; ac ceapige þær binnan on daes portgerefan gewitnysse," II Aethelstan XII, *ibid.*, p. 157; "etiam dixerunt, quod nichil eis interesse uidebatur inter falsarios et merca-

there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the Arabic origin of both *barganiare* and Gothic *bugjan*. It is not necessary to follow up the Romance and English developments from *barganiare*, since they are obvious without any further discussion, but there is one form of it which is so divergent a variant as to demand some investigation. In Arabic we have the verbal noun بيعة

bay'ah "a striking together of the hands of two contracting parties in token of the ratification of a sale," and from this we get in the south of France and in Spain *baratare* "to barter," *baratum* "barter,"¹ but these words had distinctly a sinister meaning, even as *barganiare* was more particularly applied to questionable dealings; hence *baratare* soon acquired the meaning "to deceive, cheat."

It is clear that the Arezzo document could not have been written before the arrival of the Arabs in Spain, that is, before the year 711. The other Arabic word, *saiws*, I shall discuss later.²

tores qui bonam pecuniam portant ad falsarios et ab ipsis emunt, ut inpurum et minus appendens operentur, et inde manganant et *barganiant*," IV Aethelred V, *ibid.*, p. 234.

¹ See Ducange under *baratare*, *baratum*.

² See p. 109 ff.

VITA. S. COLUMBANI

I

The *Vita S. Columbani* which is ascribed to Jonas of Bobbio is a Carolingian forgery, or, at the least, a strongly interpolated edition of an original version by Jonas. A number of puzzling blunders in the *Vita* have already been observed by B. Krusch,¹ but they have been brushed aside as unimportant and not affecting the authenticity of the work. Thus the hagiographer makes Columbanus leave the Vosges wilderness in 610 when Sigibert was king of Austrasia and Burgundy, whereas Columbanus arrived there fifteen years after the king's death. Similarly the hagiographer figures out that Columbanus died at the age of forty-five years, whereas Columbanus speaks of himself in 603 as an old man. The hagiographer has not a word to say about the paschal question which was the chief cause of the saint's relegation, although he could not have helped knowing it, if he wrote the *Vita* in less than fifty years after the saint's death. Krusch, following Traube's opinion, admits that the two poems attached to the *Vita* must have been written by an Irishman, and that the Introduction owes its origin to the same author.

The writer of the Introduction and of the poems was well acquainted with the *Hisperica famina*. Such sentences as "ut almi patris Columbani meo studerem stilo texere gesta," "ut si aliqua minus rite prompta decorem faciditatis caruerint, vestris faleramentis decor-entur," "quibus dicendum est, nantes solere, reuma

¹ MGH., *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, vol. IV, p. 33 f.

gurgitum fractis viribus, ripe redditos, cum alia defuerint subsidia, festino conanime sentes adprehendere et divitum fauces," show that the author was imitating that high-flown diction. But we have also a positive proof that he opposed his rude structure to the ornate language of the learned, just as the author of the *Hisperica famina* adorned the rude words, "rudem stemico logum," in contradistinction to the Ausonian writers.

He says: "We consider it necessary to weigh words with your scales, so that they may be proved by you as of full weight and yet may dispel ambiguity from others, for if a person should find anything not absolutely clear or industriously corrected, he would consider it necessary to reject it, especially if, leaning on the eloquence of the doctors, he should himself abound in science. However, let such a one know that we are not attempting to consider ourselves the equal of the doctors. They are wet with the dew of eloquence and have painted green fields in flower, while we barely know of arid earth producing shrubs; they are rich in the tear of balsam from Engaddi and in aromatic flowers from Arabia, while we barely thrive on Irish butter," etc.¹ Not only do we have here the same juxtaposition, but

¹ "Ea ergo vestro libramine pensanda censemus, ut a vobis sagaci examinatione probata, a ceteris ambiguitatem pellant. Nam si quippiam aliquis non rite distincta ac de industria correcta repperit, reicienda iudicabit, praesertim si doctorum facundia fultus, affatim scientia oppletus habundet. Noverit tamen nos non ad hoc vestigia tendere, ut nos putemus doctorum gressibus coaequari. Illi rore eloquentiae madentes, virides campos flore pinxerunt; nobis vix arida tellus arbusta gignere novit. Illi dites balsami lacrimam ex Engaddi floresque aromatum ex Arabia; nobis ex Hibernia vix butyrum pinguescit. Illi piper nardumque sumunt ex India; nobis pennifera iuga Appennina vaga, quo zepheriis rigescunt frigora flabris, vix tandem saliuncam praebent. Illi preciosi lapides varietate gloriantur; nobis temerarium videtur Galliae suc no gloriari. Illi poma palmarum magnopere peregrina dirigunt, nobis Ausoniae iuxta poetam sunt mitia molles castaneae poma. Valet, almi patres viri vigoris atque roboris, Deo dicati aeterno," *ibid.*, p. 63.

even the same reference to Irish butter, for in the *Hisperica famina* we have the lines:

- L. 297 "Que dulciora sorbuistis solamina
Farriosas sennosis motibus corrosimus crust-
ellas
Quibus lita scottigeni pululauit conditura
olei,"
"You have consumed sweet things, we have
crunched pies fried in Irish oil."

But it is not only the Introduction that contains Hisperic diction. We also find it in chapter one, which is a Preface to the Life: "rutilantem atque eximio fulgore micantem sanctorum praesulum atque monachorum patrum solertia condidit vitam doctorum, scilicet ut posteris alma redolerent priscorum exempla," "rerum sator aeternus," "facundiae flore suffulti nec elucubrans scientiae fonte." While the rest of the Life is much less ornate, it is not entirely devoid of reminiscences from the Introduction and Preface, and separate words which are affected by the Hispericists occur throughout the work, such as compounds in *-ger* and *-fer*, *penniger*, *remiger*, *alifer*, *letifer*, *mortifer*, *pestifer*, *pennifer*, *salutifer*, the use of *valva* for "door," *depromere* for "to say, to manifest," *ales* for "bird."

Jonas was an Italian, but there is not a single word in the Life which betrays such an origin. On the contrary, there are in it a number of words which are distinctly of French provenience. The use of *filum aquae* for "stream of water," *aureus* for "a gold coin," *wanti* for "gloves," *anhelus* for "breath," is sufficient proof that the author was a Frenchman or excerpted a French work. Indeed, speaking of gloves, *tegumenta manuum*, the text adds "quos Galli *wantos* vocant." As the author proceeds to talk of "tegumenta manuum," the other clause may be a later gloss, for we have no

manuscript of a date earlier than the tenth century. It may be that Jonas, having been connected with French abbeys, has introduced the local words, but the fact remains that there is no Italian coloring discoverable in the whole production.

The author compiled his Life from a large variety of sources. In chapter 29 there is a reference to disgracing the captured enemy by taking him around on a camel.¹ The account of Chlothar's usurpation of the reign is identical with that of Sisebutus in his *Vita Desiderii* and in Fredegar's Chronicle, but the account about the camel is the same as in the History of Wamba's reign, ascribed to Julian of Toledo.²

The most interesting borrowing is from the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, which is found in the poem "Incipiunt versus in eius festivitate ad mensam canendi," which shows striking obligations to the hymns to Comgil and the other saints. The versification is irregular and the rhyme is not always carried out, occurring only in about one half of the lines because the author was not an adept in the new prosody. After lauding Columbanus to the skies, he finally describes his deserts and says that God has placed him in heaven where he sings pleasant songs with his sacred voice and is surrounded by a choir of angels and prophets.

"Tu mortuus vivis dum vitam morte emis;
 Tu damnanda perdis, dum carnis damna sentis.
 Tu crucianda cares, dum Christi crucem geris;
 Patriam dum fugis, ad patriam tu redis.
 Aeterno sociaris regi, dum regis temnis;
 Paradysi amoena tu penetras per eva,
 Possessurusque laeta virentia per rura,

¹ "Brunichildem vero primo ignobiliter camelo inpositam hostibus girando monstravit."

² See p. 47 f.

Quem Dominus virtutum coronavit amator,
 Sedibus aeternis te collocavit suis.
 Ibi canes iucunda carmina voce sacra.
 Iam capes tu thesauros, quos dudum recondisti,
 Commercio quos pio commutasti in saeclo.
 Chorus angelorum cernes et prophetarum,
 Martyrum candidatus catervas et iustorum.
 Permixtus luci fulva, his clares duce Christo
 Receptus tu in castris, hoste sica perempto.
 Dominum invenisti quem hic Iesum quesisti,
 Qui tropheum de mundo sic reddit triumphanti.
 Graderis per viam, quam olim praeparasti,
 Quae ducit ad aeterna gaudia paradysi.
 Tu mundum sprevisi, ut Messiam haberes,
 Cum quo manes per eva fine sine futura.
 Gloria Trinitati semper canenda virtus
 Presentia per eva et omnia futura."

As the Antiphonary was written after 691, it is obvious that Jonas cannot have written this poem, if he borrowed his subject matter from the Antiphonary. At the same time, we have again a proof that the words "nunc sedet" and "convocabit" in the Antiphonary refer to a time when the fifteenth abbot was already dead, for in the *Vita S. Columbani* the saint will sing in heaven, surrounded by angels, although he is already dead.

II

In chapter 27 there is an account of a pagan sacrifice of an enormous vat filled with beer. Columbanus blew at the vat, and it burst open and let out the beer, by means of which the devil was trying to seize the soul of the pagans. It has long been observed that the story is identical with the one in chapter 7 of the *Vita*

Vedastis episcopi, ascribed to the same Jonas.¹ The latter account is older, even as the manuscripts of this *Vita* go back to the eighth century, because it does not contain any reference to Wodan, as the god to whom the pagans were sacrificing.² Had such a statement existed in the original version of Jonas, it could not possibly have been omitted in the *Vita Vedastis*. The latter is preserved in an eighth century manuscript which does not seem to bear any signs of interpolations. It is quite unlikely that Jonas would have repeated the same miracle with two different saints, and the account in the *Vita S. Columbani* must be due to the interpolator.

It can be shown that all the early accounts of Wodan go back to a source which Paulus Diaconus calls *Antiquitas*. The *Historia Langobardorum* of the Codex Gothanus,³ which was written in the ninth century, is supposed to be based on the *Origo gentis Langobardorum* and on Isidore's Chronicle, yet there is not a trace in it of the Wodan legend. The assumption that the author avoided the story as being pagan, while he was a good Christian, is absurd, because that would hold of any writer, including Paulus Diaconus. Isidore of Seville and all the other writers of the period preceding Paulus Diaconus who have written about the Langobards, never mention such a story. It is obvious that the legend did not yet exist, or, at least, had not yet assumed a literary form.

The *Origo*,⁴ which was written after 668, because it has an entry for that date, but how long afterwards cannot be ascertained, says: "There is an island called Scadanan, which means 'destruction,' in the

¹ MGH., *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, vol. III, p. 399 ff.

² "Illi aiunt se Deo suo Vodano nomine, quem Mercurium, ut alii aiunt, autumant, velle litare."

³ MGH., *Scriptores rerum Langobardorum*, p. 7 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1 ff.

north where many peoples live, among whom there was a small nation called Winniles. And there was among them a woman named Gambara who had two sons, one of whom was called Ybor, the other Agio: these, with their mother Gambara, held rule over the Winniles. The leaders of the Wandals, that is, the Ambri and Assi, proceeded with their army and said to the Winniles: 'Either pay us tribute or prepare yourselves to fight and fight with us.' Then Ybor and Agio, together with their mother Gambara, answered: 'It is better for us to prepare a battle than to pay tribute to the Wandals.' Then the Ambri and Assi, that is, the leaders of the Wandals, asked Godan (in the margin: the nations worshiped Godan as God Mercury) to give them victory over the Winniles. Godan answered saying: 'Whomsoever I shall first see at sunrise to them shall I give victory.' At that time Gambara with her two sons, that is, Ybor and Agio, who were the leaders of the Winniles, asked Frea (Godan's wife) to be propitious to the Winniles. Then Frea advised the Winniles and their wives to come with their husbands, having their hair about their faces in the shape of beards. As the sun arose, Frea, Godan's wife, walked about the bed where her husband lay, and turned his face towards the east, and awoke him. And he, seeing the Winniles and their wives with their hair hanging loose about their faces, said: 'Who are these Longbeards?' And Frea said to Wodan: 'As you have given them the name, give them victory.' And he gave them victory that they might vindicate them wherever it seemed best and might have victory. From that time on the Winniles were called Langobards."¹

If one excludes the reference to Scandia, the "*officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum*" of Jordanes,²

¹ *MGH., Scriptores rerum Langobardorum*, p. 2 f.

² *Getica* IV, 25.

to the derivation of Langobardi from "long beards," which is taken out of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and to the gloss "Godam gentes deum Mercurium colebant," which is a reminiscence from Caesar, who said that the Germans worshiped Mercury, we have left an account of a man Wodan, who possessed the power of prophecy or of granting victory, who had a wife Frea, and who was worshiped by men and women. It will be observed that the equation of Wodan and a German god is merely a gloss, an afterthought.

As the *Origo* proceeds with the future history of the Langobards as it is found in the Prologue to Rothar's Laws, it is certain that the story of Wodan was obtained from some outside source, and this is once more shown by the history in the Codex Gothanus, which has no mention whatsoever of Wodan. Paulus Diaconus¹ has greatly enlarged upon the *Origo*, which he calls *Antiquitas*, apparently because that was its original name or because both he and the *Origo* drew their information from an older source.

Paulus Diaconus tells substantially the same story, but ridicules it, because victory is not given by man's power, but is administered by God.² Then he proceeds to say that Wodan or Godan is the same as Mercury, who is worshiped by all the Germans, but that that was a mistake, because Mercury belonged to the past and to Greece, and not to that time and to Germany.³ Here again we see that the Wodan myth had not yet fully established itself, for it is only the gloss about Wodan being the same as Mercury that opened the way for such a growth. Fredegar gives an abbreviated

¹ *MGH., op. cit.*, p. 52.

² "Haec risui digna sunt et pro nihilo habenda. Victoria enim non potestati est attributa homini, sed de caelo potius ministratur."

³ "Wotan sane, quem adiecta littera Godan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur et ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoratur; qui non circa haec tempora, sed longe antierius, nec in Germania, sed in Graecia fuisse perhibetur."

story of the Wodan myth¹ and similar accounts are given in the Florentine *Historia Langobardorum* and by Jacob de Voragine.² All the stories go back to the one of the *Origo* or *Antiquitas*, and the statement in the *Vita S. Columbani* is merely a reference to the gloss in the *Origo*.

The Wodan story is borrowed from the Arabs. The Koran mentions Wadd or Wudd (in the nominative *Waddun*, *Wuddun*, accusative *Wuddan*) as one of the chief pre-Islamic idols. Ibn al Kalbi, a writer of the eighth century, tells of the origin of this idol, which was represented as a very tall man, covered with two garments, accoutred with sword, bow, spear, and quiver. Ibn Halib quoted a verse in which Wadd was mentioned: " 'Wadd may bid you good-bye,—the games and jests of the women are no longer allowed for him, for religion is now in earnest.' This seems to indicate a feast for Wadd, in which the women took an important part as in Silo and Tabala. However, Wadd was worshipped not only by the Kalbites, but, for example, also by the Sabaeans. By the side of Wadd we find also the pronunciation Wudd, of which a variant is Udd, with which very likely Udad is to be connected: Udd and Udad frequently stand at the head of Arabic genealogies."³

Ibn al Kalbi, who died in the beginning of the ninth century, was a prolific writer, but only mere fragments of his works have come down to us. It was he who placed genealogy among the Arabs on a firm basis, and who treated elaborately Arabic origins, under the name of *Ewāil*. As Paulus Diaconus died shortly before the coronation of Charlemagne and wrote his *Historia Langobardorum* not long before his death, we see that his literary activity very nearly coincided with that of

¹ MGH., *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, vol. II, p. 110.

² *Ibid.*, *Scriptores rerum Langobardorum*, p. 599.

³ J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin 1887, part III, p. 11 ff.

Al Kalbi. It is, therefore, not likely that the story of Wadd was known before 770, unless there existed an earlier Arabic account than that by Ibn al Kalbi.

If we compare the story of Wodan with that of Wadd, we find that both connected the worship with women, that the idol or prophet was represented as a great warrior, and that to judge from the attributes ascribed by the later Germanic writers to Wodan, both were the point of issue for their genealogies. The coincidence of all the characteristics with the name and the total absence of any reference to Wodan in earlier writers, make it absolutely certain that the Germanic story owes its origin to the Arabic *Ewāil*. The identity is even closer in the old Arabic dictionary definition of *Wudd*, "a certain good man, who lived between Adam and Noah, and of whom, after his death, was made an image, which, after a long time, became an object of worship." *Wudd* is etymologically related to *wudd* "love, friendship,"¹ which is preserved in Gothic *wōþeis* "lovely, sweet," ONorse *oedre* "more excellent," AS. *wēde*, OSaxon *wōdi* "pleasant."

The name of Wodan's wife, *Frea*, is apparently itself an Arabic word. It is either from Arab. *فرعاء*

far'aāu "a woman having much hair" or *فراء* *farr'āu*

"a woman having beautiful front teeth." The two words are, in all probability, developments of the root

فرع *fara'a* "he overtopped or surpassed in height or tallness, in eminence, nobility, or beauty," *فارع* *fari'a*

"he was or became abundant or free from deficiency in respect of the hair." *Frea* is merely the generic name for a woman with long hair, such as came into the

¹ Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

presence of Wodan to intercede for the Langobards. It is interesting to observe that another Arabic word from the same root is found in the Germanic languages, namely, Goth. *fairguni* "mountain," which is found only in AS. *firzin*, *fyrzen* "mountain" and in ONorse *Fjörgyn* "mother of the god of thunder, goddess of earth, *Fjörgynn* "father of Frigg." Apparently the relation to Frea, Frigg was not lost sight of in this strange word, which has left no trace behind. It is from Arab. *فرع* *far'un* "the upper, uppermost, part of anything," or *فارع* *fāri'un* "a mountain higher than what is next to it."

III

Obviously there must have been Spanish Goths in Italy towards the end of the eighth century, to have disseminated such an Arabic story. This may be proved both by the mention of Spanish martyrs of the year 711 in the Gothic calendar of Milan, and by the Visigothic forgeries in Ravenna and elsewhere. We possess a part of a Gothic calendar¹ in a Milan palimpsest of the Ambrosian Library. As the superscription is of the eighth century, the Gothic calendar cannot be of a younger date than the eighth century. The fragment begins with October 23 and goes to November 30. In October the following anniversaries are noted down:

23. thize ana Gutthiudai managaize marytre jah Frithareikeis.

29. gaminthi marytre thize bi Werekan papan jah Batwin bilaif. aikklesjons fullaizos ana Gutthiudai gabrannidai.

¹ For the history of the Gothic martyrs and the Gothic saints see *Martyrs de l'église de Gothie*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. XXXI, p. 274 ff, and *Les origines du christianisme chez les Gots*, *ibid.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 1 ff.

There is some difficulty in determining the meaning of "ana Gutthiudai," but Mansion is probably right in translating the second quotation as "there remains a commemoration of the martyrs, those about Presbyter Wereks and Batwin, of the full church burned in Gothia."¹ In any case it is clear that the reference is to a church that was burned in Gothia, while it was filled with the clergy and with laymen. This meaning is sustained by the Greek synaxaries which mention the fact under March 26, when the two presbyters, Bathuses and Werkas, with their sons and daughters, a monk, and a number of laymen suffered the martyr's death by burning in the time of the Emperors Valentinian, Valent and Gratian.² We have also an account of the Catholic queen of the Goths, Gaatha, who collected the holy relics and deposited them at Cyzicus.

As no synaxaries go back beyond the beginning of the eleventh century, while the Gothic calendar cannot be of more recent date than the eighth, the date of the martyrdom in the latter deserves more credence than in the first. It is also clear that the appearance of the Gothic martyrs in a Greek synaxary shows that they were considered as orthodox Catholics and not as Arians, even as it distinctly says that Gaatha was a good Catholic. Hence, since the Gothic calendar refers to the same two presbyters as in the menologia, the martyrs were Catholics, and the Gothic calendar cannot be connected with Ulfilas in any manner whatsoever.

It is not difficult to account for the circumstantial story in the synaxary. Gothic martyrs are mentioned in all the early writers, but it is only Sozomenus, who merely copied Socrates, that has introduced the martyrdom by fire. Sozomenus is totally unreliable, as has

¹ *Anal. Bol.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, vol. XXXI, p. 279.

already been shown by the critics, hence his particular account of Gothic martyrs by fire is of no value, except that it served as a good basis on which to foist the saints of the Gothic calendar. This was done by the Greek synaxaries after the eighth century. All we have to explain is the burning of Catholic martyrs of the Gothic nation in a church, which took place on October 29.

This fact occurred on or very near October 29 of the year 711 in the city of Cordoba. Here is the story as told by Al-Makkari, who excerpted it from ancient Arabic sources.

“Tárik assented immediately to the advice given by Ilyán, but, before leaving Ezija, he dispatched Mugheyth Ar-rúmí (the Greek), a freedman of the Sultán Al-walíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, with seven hundred horse; for the Moslems by this time were all, without exception, mounted on horses taken from the barbarians, and had even some remaining. Mugheyth's instructions were to attack Cordova, one of their principal cities. Tárik sent another division of his army against Malaga, and a third against Gharnattá, the town of Al-bírah (Elvira), while he himself, at the head of the main body, hastened towards Toledo by way of Jaen: some authors pretend that Tárik himself went to Cordova, and not Mugheyth, but the former account is the most certain.

“However, those who follow the first opinion relate the affair in the following manner. They say that Mugheyth's army, having arrived close to Cordova, encamped in a forest of lofty pines on the bank of the river of Shakandah. Having soon after his arrival at the spot sent out his scouts to gain if possible a knowledge of the country, these soon returned with a shepherd, who, being interrogated about Cordova, informed Mugheyth that the principal people of the

city had quitted it and gone to Toledo, but that a governor had been left behind with a garrison of four hundred horsemen, besides the invalids and old soldiers. The shepherd being further questioned respecting the walls of the city said that they were strong and high, but that there was a breach in them, which he described. Accordingly, no sooner were the Moslems enveloped in the shadows of night than they set off towards the city, and approached its walls, where God Almighty opened to them the means of success, by sending a providential fall of hail, which prevented the stepping of the horses from being heard. The Moslems proceeding gently and unnoticed till they arrived on the banks of the river, which they crossed, finding themselves then at a distance of only thirty cubits, or perhaps less, from the walls. Owing to the squalls of rain, and the cold of the night, the sentries, neglecting their duties, were not on the walls keeping guard, a circumstance which allowed the Moslems to arrive unheard and unmolested at the foot of the battlements; they then attempted to scale the walls, but failed in their attempt by not finding a place to fix the ladders. In this difficulty they returned to the shepherd, and asked him to lead them to the breach he had mentioned; this the man did, but it was also found upon trial not to be of easy ascent. However, this was after some time obtained by means of a fig tree, growing close to the walls, the branches of which afforded the means of ascending. One of the strongest men mounted the tree, whence he succeeded in gaining the top of the breach. Mugheyth then unfolded his turban, and gave one end of it to the man, who by means of it succeeded in helping others on until a considerable number of Moslems gained the summit of the wall. Mugheyth, who remained on horseback at the foot of the battlements, then commanded the assailant party

to rush upon the guard within the city. This order was quickly obeyed by the Moslems, who surprised and killed many of the garrison, and, breaking open the gate, let in Mugheyth and the rest of his men, who soon got possession of the city. This being done, Mugheyth, with his guides, hastened towards the palace of the governor, who, having received intelligence of the entry of the Moslems, fled with his guards, four hundred in number, and betook himself to a church situate at the west of the city, and fortified himself in it. As water was conveyed under ground to this church from a spring at the foot of a neighboring mountain, the besieged defended themselves some time against Mugheyth, who nevertheless ruled in the city and its environs.

“The same authors, namely, those who pretend that Tárik was not present at the taking of Cordova, and that this exploit was achieved singly by Mugheyth, state that this latter general, after writing to Tárik to apprise him of his victory, continued to besiege the Christians shut up in the church. After three months of siege, seeing that he could not reduce them, Mugheyth began to grow impatient and melancholy, and thought of devising some stratagem that might make him master of the fortress. He then called before him one of his black slaves, whose name was Rabáh, a man of tried courage and fortitude, and directed him to hide himself at night in a garden covered with trees that lay close to the church, to try if he could not by chance lay hold of some barbarian, who might inform him of the state of the garrison. The black man did as he was ordered, but being a stupid fellow he soon committed himself; for as it was then the season for the trees to bear fruit, and the place was covered with them, he mounted one in order to gather some fruit, and eat of it. While he was thus perched in the tree

he was discovered by the people of the church, who, coming to the spot, made him get down, and having secured him took him prisoner inside. Great was the fright, and at the same time the astonishment, which the sight of the black man caused to the Christians, for they had never seen a man of his colour before; they surrounded him on every side, they gazed at him with astonishment, and thinking he was painted or dyed with some substance that made him look black, they rushed along, he in the midst of them, towards the subterranean conduit by means of which the garrison was supplied with water; and there they began washing and scraping him with water and a hard brush till the black man, unable to endure the operation any longer, begged them to desist, and explained to them that he was a human creature like themselves; which being understood by them they left off washing him, although they still continued to stare at him as a thing they had never seen before. However, after seven days' imprisonment, during which the Christians never ceased coming round him and looking at him, the Almighty permitted that one night this black man should effect his escape, and arrive safe at the camp of the Amír Mugheyth, to whom he related his adventures, informing him at the same time of the result of his observations, as well as of the direction of the subterranean conduit which supplied the garrison with water. Immediately after Mugheyth summoned before him some expert people, who looked for the conduit in the place pointed out by the black man, and, having found it, succeeded in stopping it; the church was from that moment deprived of water, and its garrison doomed to death.

“Notwithstanding this loss, and that the besieged had no hopes of deliverance, they were so obstinate that when safety was offered them upon condition either of

embracing the Mohammedan religion, or paying tribute, they refused to surrender, and the church being set on fire they all perished in the flames. This was the cause of the spot being called ever since *Kenísatu-l-harakí* (the church of the burning), as likewise of the great veneration in which it has always been held by the Christians, on account of the courage and endurance displayed in the cause of their religion by the people who died in it. Their commander, however, did not share their fate, for when he perceived that the case was desperate, and saw that he and his followers were doomed to certain death, he abandoned his comrades to their fate and escaped towards Toledo. But Mugheyth, being informed of it, galloped off immediately in pursuit of him, and overtook him near the village of Talavera. They say that the barbarian rode a black steed, a noble and swift animal, and that when he saw Mugheyth close at his heels he was terrified and spurred his horse, but the beast gave a start and threw him down. When Mugheyth came up he found him stunned by the fall and lying on his shield as if he were dead, seeing which he took possession of his arms and made him prisoner.

“This feat of arms of Mugheyth is differently related by the historians. They all agree, it is true, in the taking of the church after a considerable resistance, and the flight and capture of the governor, but some relate this event as having happened before, not after, the reduction of the fortified church, and say that after taking the governor prisoner Mugheyth invested the building where the Christians had taken refuge, and, having reduced it, put every one of them to the sword: the same historians asserting that the church was called ever since *Kanísatu-l-asraí* (the church of the captives). Be this as it may, certain it is that Mugheyth made the governor of Cordova prisoner, and

spared his life with the intention of presenting him to the Khalif Al-walíd on his return to the East, this Christian being the only captive of the royal blood of the Goths taken at the time of the conquest, the rest having either surrendered on terms which secured them their liberty or escaped to Galicia. However, as we shall presently see, Mugheyth was not able to accomplish his purpose, for some time afterwards a dispute having arisen between him and Músa as to whose province it was to present the royal captive to the Khalif, the latter, seeing that he could not prevail upon Mugheyth to relinquish his prize, slew the Gothic slave in the very presence of his master."¹

F. J. Simonet² has shown that this church was the Basilica Sancti Aciseli, and he quotes a thirteenth century Arabic author who says that the church was held in great esteem by the Christians. Tárik took Ezija in August of 711, during which time Mugheyth besieged and took Cordova, the church holding out for three months. The church was taken in the month of Moharram, which in 711 fell in October and November.³ Consequently the date of October 29 as given in the Gothic calendar is most likely the one on which the besieged clergy were burned. Of course, it may be that the account of those Arabic historians is correct who say that the prisoners were beheaded, but that would make no difference for the hagiography which, in accordance with some Arabic accounts, evolved the story of the burning, as which it entered the Gothic calendar and the Greek synaxaries.

¹ Pascual de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, London 1840, vol. I, p. 277 ff.

² *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1897-1903, p. 329.

³ E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los Árabes en España*, Madrid 1892, p. 85.

DORF, BACH, ETC.

I

The clearest proof of the late origin of the *Vita S. Columbani* is found in the reference to the monastery of *Resbac*,¹ which Dado, the brother of Ado, built in the Brieg Forest above *Resbac* Brook.² It has already been observed that the author is unacquainted with the existence of a third brother, mentioned in the genuine documents. Besides, S. Benedict's rule was also in vogue in that monastery, but the author has nothing to say about it. These mistakes are due to the author's depending for his statement on a document which is supposed to be of the year 635, but which has come down in a thirteenth century copy and in a reproduction from an older *traditio* of unknown date. I shall show that the author drew from sources of the end of the eighth century, because *-bah*, the second part of the compound in *Resbac*, like *-dorf* in place names, is an Arabic word which reached the Rhine region after the middle of the eighth century.

In the *Traditiones possessionesque wizenburgenses*³ we meet the village names in *-dorf* from the year 693 on, but, while we find them but four times before 764,⁴ we get them in very great quantity from that date on,⁵ that is, while for the period of the first

¹ MGH., *Scrip. rer. Merov.*, vol. IV, p. 122.

² "Iuniorque nomine Dado intra Briegensem saltum supra fluviolum *Resbacem* ex supradicti viri (Columbani) regula monasterium construxit," p. 100.

³ C. Zeuss, *Spirae* 1842.

⁴ *Austondorph* No. 38 (693), *Altthorpf* Nos. 194, 224 (718), *Plitharesdorph* No. 16 (730), *Dauchendhorf* No. 149 (753).

⁵ *Altorf*, *Altdorph*, No. 193 (764), No. 264 (765), *Biberesdorf*, etc., No. 128 (773), Nos. 53, 54, 178 (774), No. 190 (780), No. 111 (784), No. 171 (824), No. 166 (837), *Blidolfestorf* No. 125 (788), *Bruningestorf*

seventy-one years *-dorf* occurs but four times, we get it more than fifty times for the succeeding seventy-two years. This discrepancy shows at once that it is only after 764 that *-dorf* becomes popular. Besides, the first four *-dorfs* are of questionable value.

Austondorph is found in a prestatium of the year XII of *Hludouuico rege*, which would put it in 846, but which Zeuss places in 693 by assuming that *Hludouuico* is a mistake for *Chlodoveus III*, because nine witnesses of this charter are identical with the witnesses of No. 43, dated 696. Apart from the improbability of bringing together nearly all the witnesses in an entirely different matter after three years, it is hard to explain the gross error of the king's reign. Curiously the abbot *Ratfridus* of the Weissenburg monastery, who figures in the charters from 693-724, is also mentioned in the time of Hlodovic in 830, in No. 51. Here the reference to the king is specific: "regnante *Ludewico* imperatore magni *karolis* filio." Obviously there is a mistake somewhere. As this latter document is from the 11. or 12. century, it is more than probable that it is faulty, and the mention of a chaplain as a notary makes it evident that the document cannot be placed in the beginning of the 8. century. In any case, it shows that the documents in the *Traditiones* are not reliable, even though they may be based on original sources.

The confusion in the case of *Altthorph* in the identical documents Nos. 194 and 224 is even worse. In No.

No. 26 (772), Nos. 53 (774), 128 (773), No. 178 (774), No. 89 (784), No. 64 (790), No. 130 (791), No. 23 (798), No. 25 (805), No. 171 (824), *Bullinthorf* No. 131 (767), *Chielendorph* Nos. 79, 80 (792), *Dauchendorf* No. 128 (773), Nos. 53, 63, 71, 178 (774), No. 60 (784), No. 117 (792), Nos. 31, 24 (798), *Eechenthorf* No. 133 (774), *Gerlaichestorf*, etc., No. 53, 128 (773), No. 178 (774), No. 78 (792), No. 81 (797), *Hiltendorf* No. 62 (797?), *Muzzihhesdorph* No. 78 (791), No. 81 (797), *Osterendorf* No. 19 (808), *Ratolfesdorph* No. 85 (797), No. 152 (828), *Rinkilendorf* No. 30 (800), No. 182 (812), *Scalkenthorp* No. 75 (786), *Spiridorf* Nos 61, 63 (774), No. 56 (after 774), *Uuinidharesdorf* No. 27 (799), No. 33 (after 797).

192 a certain *Weraldus* in the second year of Dagobert's reign (713), gives to Weissenburg his property in the village of *Haganbach*. That the village was not called so in the beginning of the eighth century follows from the words "in villa *haganbah* que nuncupator *disciacu*" of this document, as well as from a precaria of the next year (No. 256), in which this *Weraldus* is permitted to keep the same property in usufruct, and where we have again the equation "*uilla nostra chagambac* qui uocatur *ditiagus*." We hear later only of *Haganbach*, hence *Ditiagus*, *Disciacu* is an attempt to reproduce the very wording of the important original charter, just as *Weraldus* is unnecessarily quoted in a later document.¹

In No. 194 Chrodoinus, the son of Peter, turns over to Weissenburg his property in the new estate established by him on the river Aquila, where the Theotpacis flows into the Aquila, also near Wacbach at Watinausa in Altthorpe. This is in the first year *Luttharii regis*. If Emperor Hlothar were meant, we should have for it the year 813, but Zeuss assumes it to mean Chlothar IV, the counterking who ruled from 717-718, because of the reference to Abbot *Ratfridus*; that is, in order to harmonize the obvious blunder, Zeuss sets the document back a century, even as he had to do in the case of No. 38, in which *Austondorph* occurred. This would all be very well, but as Chilperic II is mentioned in all documents, both before and after 717, this dating is extremely strange. According to Zeuss, three documents are given for the time of the counterking. Two of these refer to the same transaction. No. 227 is a will of the same Chrodoinus, but it is dated ten days earlier and gives a totally different description of the property. The first is made at *Areouillari*, the second

¹ "Et de ipsa latere est finis *chaganbahcinsis* quem ueroaldus pro testamentum tituli ad ipso monasterio superius denominatum firmavit," No. 227 (718).

at *Ascouuilare*, although ten of the eleven witnesses and the notary are the same. Apparently *Areouillare* and *Ascouuillare* are the same place. Curiously No. 224, which is a copy of No. 194, is not signed by the notary *Liudoinus*, but by *Guntbertus*. Now a *Guntbertus* figures again in Nos. 218 (715) and 40 (724), while he occurs eight times for the 40th year of Charlemagne to the 17th year of Chlodevic, (Nos. 238, 127, 168, 177, 175, 173, 152, 198). Obviously this cannot be the same notary as the first. If the signature of *Guntbertus* in No. 224 is correct, and not that of *Liudoinus*, as in No. 194, we may have an additional proof that Chrodoinus' will was made at a later time. Whichever way we take it, the documents are totally unreliable.

In No. 227 the property is given in Chaganbach between the rivers Aquila and Mittilibrunnus, near the border of Chaganbach, which Weroaldus has bequeathed to the monastery. It is bordered by Lake Chludulfus, and the river Aquila issues not far from it. But Chrodoinus reserves for himself and his heirs the new estate which he has built where the Deopacis flows into the Aquila. Besides, he gives away property in Portionella which his ancestors have already bequeathed to the Church of St. Martin, and similar property at Chiricunvillare. It would, then, appear that he changed his mind in ten days, and added the new estate on the Aquila near the Deopacis to the abbey, in order to receive it back by a precaria as a benefice in May of the same year, as appears from No. 195. Unfortunately there is again a confusion here, for this very precaria, which refers to the new estate, mentions the clerici Weland and Agino of No. 227 as belonging to the property described in No. 194, while in June of 716 he had already transferred the property of Hagenbah and Monte to the abbey, according to

No. 196. It is impossible to reconcile all these discrepancies, except on the supposition that the charters were made out at various later times, and that an attempt was made to arrange them in some kind of chronological order, at as distant a past as possible.

There is a codicil attached to the *prestaría* of No. 196 which says that a new set of witnesses swear that Chrodoinus, now mentioned as Radoinus, has turned over to the abbey that property which his sons *Gebehartus* and *Rodoinus* wanted to retain illegally between the *Aquila* and *Mittibrunnen* and at Berg. Apparently this is intended as happening some years later, after the death of Chrodoinus. Suddenly, in No. 197, we leap over seventy years and hear, in 788, that *Rodoinus* and *Gebagardus*, sons of Eburhardus, have unlawfully held, with their brother Lanfridus, the property which their ancestors and fathers turned over to the abbey, but which the abbey now, pitying them, turned over to them as a benefice, between *Achilla* and *Mittilibrunnen* and Ludolfespedus and Wassenstein. It would be an extremely curious coincidence if two brothers of the same name should have repeated the same unlawful act at an interval of 70 years. It is true, the father of the latter two brothers is Eburhardus, who in Nos. 198 and 251 (830) appears as Gebahardus, the father of presbyter Lanfridus, who in 847 (No. 200) is mentioned as *corepiscopus*. Apparently the writer of the *Traditiones* wanted to bridge over the period between the unquestionably historical Weraldus of the beginning of the 8th century and the equally historical Lanfridus and his brothers in the 9th century, and so placed the two brothers partly with the time of Weraldus and partly with Lanfridus.

In the case of Weraldus the writer could fall back on good original documents, hence he mentions side by side the old name of the place, *Ditiagus*, *Disiacu*, and

the new *Hagenbah*, even as *Deubacis* seems in No. 192 to be an equivalent for *Lata Petra* or *Via Bassoniaca* ("inter aculia et mittilibrunnen et uia bassoniaca seu lata petra uel deubaci"). The river *Lata Petra*, or rather, *Alta Petra*, occurs seven times and must be in the same locality, since all these documents refer to "uilla audoino," even as No. 192 refers to "Audionus". These documents (Nos. 205, 218, 223, 226, 239, 240, 252) are all from the years 699 and 715 respectively, and that they are based on genuine documents is shown by the fact that at least four witnesses are the same as in No. 192; yet, in spite of the considerable number of place names given in them, there is not one suspicious one, in *-bah* or *-dorf*. Indeed, the names of villages or estates, *Bohuniwillare*, *Iohanneuillare*, *Imminniuillas*, *Uilla Gunduino*, show that we have here original names. The Germanic names of rivers are also absent, except for *Biberaha*. Instead of *Aculia*, *Mittilibrunnen* we get *Cerno*, while instead of *Uia bassoniaca*, which is obviously some corruption for a river name, we have in all these documents *ad bisariga*, *ad bisanga*. As none of these names occur in any other document in the *Traditiones*, we at once see that we have here very close reproductions of the original documents, while those of the type of No. 192 have all been tampered with, on account of the trouble the Abbey had in the 9th century with the two brothers who claimed the old property.

Let us now turn to No. 197 and No. 227. In No. 197 we have *Ludolfespedu*, in No. 227 we have *lagus Chludulfus*. What is *pedu*? In No. 194 we have *uatinausa in altthorfphe* where No. 192 has *uia bassoniaca seu lata petra*. Obviously this latter denomination, misread and mispronounced, produced *ad uatinausa in altthorfphe*, and *altthorfphe* is in No. 227 still further corrupted to *Chludulfus*, while *Ludolfespedu* of

No. 197 still preserves a memory of *petra* in the ending *pedu*. Similarly we come from *ad bisariga*, *bisanga*, to *via bassoniaca*, to *ad uuatinausa*, and ultimately, in No. 197, to *Uuassenstein*. Thus we can trace the history of corruptions from the beginning of the 8th to the end of the 9th century. *Altdorpf* occurs again in Nos. 193 and 264, and here is coupled with *Buatgisingas*. Obviously this latter is again the old *Bisanga*, *Watinause*, etc. Thus *Altdorf* arose from the original *Alta petra* at a time when *dorf* had become popular; but it is certain that that change was not made as early as 764, because in the time of Charlemagne (788) we still have *Ludolfespedu*, while the *Liber possessionum* of the Weissenburg monastery, of a later date, knows only of *Altdorf*¹ and a document of 1179 gives *Altdorf* obviously near *Hagenbach*.² Even so *Plitharesdorph* of No. 16 (730) is apparently the same as *Blidolfestorf* of No. 125 (788), but in neither case can we trace it to its original name, because it is not mentioned before or after these two dates. *Dauchendhorf* of No. 149 is already of Pippin's time (753), but when we compare the long list of place names in No. 52 (742) with that of the same pagus in No. 53 (774), it is certainly remarkable that while there is not one *dorf* in the first, there are four in the latter, among them *Dauchenthorf*. There is no reason to assume that No. 149 is more genuine than the documents so far discussed, that is, there is no way of determining whether the date of 753 may be assumed as the earliest genuine mention of *-dorf*.

Dorf and *bah* do not occur in the *Traditiones wizenburgenses* before the second half of the eighth century. In the case of *-bah* we have *Hagenbah*, *Wacbach*, *Deubacis* only in the documents just discussed. The first

¹ In the same work, Nos. 10, 242, 311, 323.

² *Ibid.*, p. 322.

-bah outside of these documents is of the year 763 (*Offenbac* No. 263), after which we get *Carlobach* in Nos. 128 (773), 53, 178 (774), No. 61 (774), No. 19 (808), *Masebah* in No. 53 (774), *Rorbah* in No. 57 (774), *Kimbach*, *Fimbah* in Nos. 259, 260 (789). That these estates or villages were new at the time of their mention follows from the reference to the *marca* in which a place lies as *-bah*, that is, the place *-bah* is in the outlying district, which, to judge from the reference to *-bah*, is in a region drained by ponds. We have "in fine vel in marca que dicitur *Kimbach*," and, in 742, "in marca *Haganbache*." Of course, in the latter case, the date does not prove anything, because, as we have seen in the earliest document, *Hagenbah* is substituted everywhere for the older appellation. Similarly *fluviolus raurebacya*, recorded in No. 38, as of the year 693, is of no avail, since it is contained in the same questionable document in which we found *Austondorph*.

An interesting study is furnished by the comparison of estates which bear both the endings *-dorf* and *-villare*, for while the two are not necessarily identical in location, the first occurs in authentic documents only at a late period, while the second is of an earlier date. Thus, *Bruningesdorf* is found from 772 on, *Bruningeswillare* already in 742, and similarly *Gerleichesdorf* from 773 and *Gerleichesvilla* from 693. Considering the fact that the great majority of *dorfs* are first mentioned between 772 and 774, one cannot be far from right in assuming that *dorf* reached the region of Weissenburg early in the seventies of the 8th century; and that time coincides completely with the first mention of *bah* in that region, for, outside of the difficult *Hagenbach* and its concomitant *Deubacis*, the other *bahs* are overwhelmingly frequent in the early seventies.

II

For the Abbey of St. Gall we fortunately have a long series of autograph documents which permit us to verify the conclusions derived from the *Traditiones possessionesque wizenburgenses*. We find *-dorf* for the first time in 769¹ and *-bah* in 754.² There are two documents, of the years 741 and 744 respectively, in which we already get *Altdorf*, although this does not occur again until 830 (No. 331). This in itself is suspicious, and it can be shown that these and a number of other early St. Gall documents, supposed to be originals, were not written down until a later time, at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.

A document of the year 761 (No. 30) is signed by the notary *Winitharius presbiter*. This is one of the few genuine charters of the early period, and everything proves its authenticity,—the identity of the minuscule handwriting with that of Winithar's copy of Paul's Epistles,³ the simplicity and comparative correctness of the style of the document, and the absence of all doubtful words. Another document is signed by *Winitharius presbiter vel monachus* as notary in 763 or 764 (No. 39), but, although there are no disturbing elements in the form of *-dorf* or *-bah* words in it, several facts make me doubt its authenticity; that is, although very likely it is based on a genuine document, it must have been composed at a later time, when certain interpolations were made necessary. First of all is the

¹ H. Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, Zürich 1863, vol. I. *Operindoraf*, *Oborostindoraph* No. 52, *Beffindoraf* No. 53, then *Ahadorf* No. 73 (775), *Sedorof*, *Wildorof* No. 108 (786), *Tillindorf* No. 145 (797), *Essindorf* No. 149 (797), etc.

² *Ibid.*, *Richinbach*, *Warbinbach* Nos. 18 and 19 (754), *Fiscpah* No. 46 (764), *Lutinbah* No. 53 (768), *Eshibach* No. 77 (775), *Fiscbach* No. 84 (778), *Rihinbah* No. 86 (779), *Leodrabach* No. 104 (786), etc.

³ A. Chroust, *Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, München 1904, 1. Serie, II Band, *Handschrift* No. 70 and *Urkunde* 1, No. 28.

reference to the *pagus*, as "in pago et in sito qui dicitur Perahtoltespara."

There is no reference to any county in the first nine documents. The tenth document is the suspicious one of the year 744, which I shall discuss later. In No. 11 (745) we have the statement that the monastery of St. Gall was in the *pagus Arbonensis*, and that the donator gave away certain property "in pago Durgau-ginse seu in sito Zurihgauvia." As there is no such division as a "*situs*," although obviously "county Zürichgau" is meant, there is something wrong about this document. The same confusion is found in the following document, which is made out on the same day by the same donor, signed by the same notary and the same witnesses, but contains a larger grant than the preceding donation and is recorded as having been written in an entirely different town. Wartmann with easy conscience assumes that the donor changed his mind on the same day and increased his gift, in order to receive it back as a benefice from the monastery. Apart from the totally improbable transaction of giving away the property twice on the same day and taking for the purpose the witnesses and notary on a journey, the document does not agree with the previous one on the location of the St. Gall Monastery, for here we have it mentioned "in sito Durgaunense et in pago Arbonense," that is, here *situs* and *pagus* are identical and *Arbonensis* and *Turgau* are identical. The trouble is not in mentioning a new locality, but in identifying the two in a curious and impossible way, as we shall soon see. Documents 13 and 14 have no reference to counties. No. 15 (752) again shows the wavering between an old and a new appellation, for here we get "in fine Augustinse vel in fine Prißegauginsi," for the first is later (No. 291) mentioned as *pagus Augus-cauginsis*. Nos. 16 and 17 mention no county. In

No. 18 (754) the property is "in pago *Duregauginsi*." No. 19 (754) mentions Audomarus as *abbas Durgaugensis* and speaks of property "in pago *Brisegaugense*." Nos. 20, 21, 22 mention no county. No. 23 (758) speaks of the monastery "in pago *Durgauginsi*," and gives away property "in pago *Brisigauginsi*." In No. 24 property is given away "in pago *Durgau*." In No. 25 (759) we have again the queer statement "in situ *Durgo* vel in pago *Arbonensis castri*," as in No. 12. At the same time property is given away "in pago, qui dicitur *Bertoltisbara* et in sito *Vildira*." Here we obviously have again a reference to older and newer appellations. In No. 26 (762) places are given away "in pago *Turgauia*." Nos. 27 (761), 30 (761), 32, 36 (762) are without mention of a county. In No. 29 (761) property is given away "in paco *Durgauia*;" similarly in No. 31 (761), No. 34 (762), No. 35 (762), No. 37 (762). In Nos. 33 (762) and 38 (763) the monastery is again mentioned "in pago *Arbonensi*."

Thus, previous to No. 39, which is under discussion, some documents give only the old name for the county, some the new, some both, and some none at all. Of those that mention both names (Nos. 11, 12, 25), two contain the curious gift of the same property on the same day in two different places, while the third no longer exists in the original, but is taken out of the *Codex traditionum*. In No. 73 (775) we have "in pago *Thurgaugia*, in *Arbonense pago*," in No. 74 (775) "in pago *Durgauginse* in sito *Zurihgauvia*," in No. 77 (775) "in pago *Durgauginse* in sito *Zurihgauvia*," in No. 85 (779) "in pago *Arbonensi* vel in sito *Durgogensi*," in No. 94 (781) "in *Durgauia* in *Arbunense pago*," No. 117 (788) "in pago *Durgaugense* et in situ *Arbunense*," in No. 119 (788) "in pago *Durgaugense* vel in sito *Arbonense*," in No. 144 (797) "in paco *Turgauensi* vel in *Arbonensi*," in No. 148 (797) "in pago *Turgensi*

sibi ad *Arbonensi*," in No. 154 (798) "in *pago Turgauensi* sibi *Arbonensi*," in No. 162 (800) "in *pago Turgauense* vel *Arbonense*," in No. 201 (809) "in *pago Turgauensi* sibi ad *Arbonensi*," in Nos. 205 and 206 (811) "in *pago Turgensi* sive ad *Arbonensi*."

After 811 the double statement no longer occurs. Although occasionally the monastery, from old habit, is still mentioned as lying in the *pagus Arbonensis*, all the references to property in the county are to the *pagus Turgauensis*. If we now observe the juxtaposition, we find that up to 797 the references are generally to "in *pago* vel in *situ*," while afterwards they are exclusively to "in *pago* sive ad." The only plausible explanation for the first is that the writing is found in documents formed from an authentic draft years later, where "*situm* in *pago Arbonensi*" had already a note "*Durgauensi*" written above it, in order to comply with the new appellation, which the late writer of the document considered as being placed after "*situm*" and so produced the anomalous juxtaposition. If we now look into the documents which contain this peculiar statement, we find that No. 73 is admittedly a copy of the 9th century, while No. 94, written by the same notary Liutfritus, is supposed to be original. If it is, we have one of the earliest sensible juxtapositions "in *Durgavia* in *Arbunense*," which would indicate that "*Durgavia*" was just beginning to take the place of "*Arbonensis*." No. 117 is by the notary Mauwo, and is one of so varying a mass of handwritings supposedly by the same Mauwo, that Wartmann declares it may as well belong to the 9th century. No. 118 is by Adam, but another by the same notary, of the year 796 (No. 142), is in a different handwriting, and so nothing can be said of its authenticity. No. 85 is the only document by the notary Wolvinus. No. 95 is by the notary Waldo, of whom we have twelve

supposedly genuine documents and four copies which we shall now study.

Bresslau¹ has pointed out that the early Alamanian documents were not necessarily written down by the person mentioned as the writer in the subscription, but that it was sufficient for the notary to put down his signature. Furthermore, the notary frequently could only make a rough sketch of the transaction, leaving it for a later time to compose the whole document. As a rule, this concept was written on the back of the parchment which contained the complete transaction. This would at once explain the variation in Waldo's charters, for in the authentic documents Nos. 88, 95, 96 we have *Bertoltipara*, in No. 63 *Peraholtipara*. The same writer could not have written both documents. Similarly, while Nos. 62, 76, 80 read "in pago *Durgauvia*" and No. 89 "in pago *Durgauia*," No. 77 reads "in pago *Durgauginse* in sito *Zurihgauia*," precisely as in No. 11 (745) by the notary Silvester, which is also supposed to be original. Now it is obvious that a place cannot be at the same time in two counties, yet No. 77 speaks only of one estate, at *Esghibach*, which, in 801 (No. 163), is mentioned as lying in *Turgau*. Waldo could not have made such a blunder, hence the document must have been made out at a later time than the transfer of the property and by a different man than the notary. We have still better proof of the considerable time that must have elapsed between the concept and the complete document in the case of No. 186 (805) where the concept speaks of the property as lying in the *Alaholfespara*,² which the document gives in the *Folcholtespara*. Now the second may be a mistake by the scribe for the first, since neither occur again, and *Alaholfesbara*

¹ *Urkundenbeweis und Urkundenschreiber im älteren deutschen Recht*, in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, vol. XXVI, p. 52 ff.

² Bresslau, *l. c.*, p. 55.

is unquestionable, because Count *Alaholfus* is mentioned in No. 81 (776). I shall show later that the *Alaholfesbara* is identical with the *Peraholtipara* of the other documents. Here I only wish to point out that the same person could not possibly have composed the concept and the document, but that considerable time must have elapsed before the document was written down, hence also the many variations in the spelling of place names. It is generally assumed that, considering the identity of the signature by Waldo, all the documents bearing his signature were signed by him. This would seem plausible, and although there is nothing in these documents which could not have been written before 782, the last date of Waldo's signature, I question the authenticity of the signature. It may have been made by a later hand, which composed the documents from the concepts.

Let us now turn to No. 7 (741) and No. 10 (744). The first exists only in the *Codex traditionum*, hence is a late copy. I think the two are based on the same concept and refer to continuous transactions. No. 7 speaks of the XVIIIth day of November, in the reign of Carlomannus and under Count Pebo, No. 10 of the VIIIth day of November in the 3rd year of Hiltrih, under Carlomannus majordomus and Count Bebo. Obviously the first is simply an insufficient statement for the second, or, rather, in the second VIII stands for XVIII, and there may be other errors in either or both documents. Six of the witnesses are identical in both, and the notary is the same in both. In the first, two thirds of the property is given away to the monastery, while in the second the remaining property is sold for a consideration, in order to get the property back as a benefice. How much later both documents may have been written cannot be ascertained, but from the fact that the first speaks

of a place *Altorf et Cella*, while the second makes two separate places of them, it is pretty certain that the original draft had only *Cella* in it, and the intermediate documents contained the equivalent *Altdorf*, which produced the confusion in the later copyist. That there was a multiplicity of documents in regard to this transaction is shown by No. 10, which exists in two apparently authentic copies, which, according to Wartmann, differ by several decades in palaeography.

To judge from No. 11, which is made on September 10, 745, the donatrix of No. 10 and her husband died between November 9, 744 and September 10, 745. Their son Lantbertus, as we have seen, on the same day of the latter date, made two donations to the monastery. Obviously the two documents have arisen in the same way as those of his mother, from the concept data, by a series of intervening documents. The notary is the same as in Nos. 5, 6, and 24. While in Nos. 5 and 24 Silvester is mentioned without a title, in No. 12 he is "lector," in Nos. 6 and 11 "diaconus." It is quite inconceivable, as Wartmann has already observed, for a deacon to sign himself on the same day by an inferior title. Besides, No. 6 differs completely in language from the others. Hence Wartmann assumes that the two Silvesters of Nos. 11 and 12 are different persons, which adds still more to the confusion. To make matters worse, the palaeography of No. 6 is more like that of the 9th century, and the *Liber confessionum* mentions a Silvester only from 760-780. This again shows how little we may trust the authenticity of signed documents.

Casting an unprejudiced view upon the St. Gall documents, we come to the conclusion that *-dorf* and *-bah*, although sporadically occurring somewhat earlier, do not become popular before the end of the sixties, and that *Durgau* takes the place of *pagus Arbonensis* about

the same time. In Stälin's long list of *Gau*-counties in Alamannian and Frankish territory¹ there is not one which is older, and the oldest are only in the *Codex Laureshamensis*, where No. 2398 has *Enzingowe* in 765. As the *Codex* is only a transcript, it is again fair to assume that the new appellation for *gau* is not older than the last years of the sixties.

It still remains to be shown that the land division *bara* with which we meet in the St. Gall documents means a special grant of a count, and is of recent origin. I have already shown that in the year 805 we hear of the *Alaholfesbara*, which obviously refers to Count Alaholfus. Stälin has already pointed out² that the *-gau* divisions were originally purely geographical denominations without any definite political entities, hence a place might well appear now in one *gau*, now in another. It was merely a question of personal choice whether an estate was supposed to lie in the district of a river or its tributary. The counts, who attended to the courts, were only loosely connected with the *gaus*, and might now appear attached to one, now to another, or there might have been several in one *gau*, such as the Neckergau. But amidst this loose relation between count and counties, there arises the definite reference of a *bara* as a jurisdiction of a particular count. Albuin's *bara* is mentioned from 788-837.³ The *Berchtoldbara* which we have already met in the St. Gall documents was identical with the district of the Schwarzwald,⁴ hence "in pago qui dicitur Bertoltisbara et in sito Vildira" of the year 759 in No. 25 (also No. 1 in *Anhang*), is almost certainly a case of *Vildira* miswritten for *Waldora*, which, no

¹ *Württembergische Geschichte*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1841, vol. I, p. 279-325.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 276.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 280 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

doubt, is the older appellation. But *Waldora* was hardly used in Frankish territory before Charlemagne's Italian expedition, since, as I have already shown,¹ it is distinctly a Langobard word. A duke *Berchhold* is mentioned in 724, but the St. Gall documents tell us of one nearer the end of the eighth century. *Comes Pirahtilo* is mentioned in 770 (No. 56), and *pagus Piritiloni* in 785 (No. 102) and 786 (No. 103). The latter two documents bear every imprint of genuineness. There are no doubtful words in them and St. Gall Monastery is mentioned "in pago *Arbonensi*." As both refer to Count *Piritilo* as sitting in the county, there can hardly be any doubt but that the *bara* refers to this particular count, hence the name of the *bara* cannot be much older than from the year 770, and all the references to *Peraholtipara* before that date must be taken with caution.

The royal charters bear out the deductions from the private documents. In the genuine Merovingian documents *-dorf*, *-bah*, and *-bara* do not occur. Only in the *Liber aureus* of Epternach of the 12th century there is an entry as of the year 717 where we meet with *Bolluntorf*. I have already shown how little reliance may be placed on *Traditiones* of a later date. In the present one, fortunately, we can see how the older documents have been treated. In a previous charter of the year 715-716, the reference is to "in villa *Bollane*;"² in the next charter the reference is to "villa, quae vocatur *Bollunvilla* sive *Bolluntorf*,"³ that is, the newer name has been placed by the side of the older. Similarly, the reference to *Stagnebachus*, *Rarobaccus* in the year 667 is of no avail, since it is contained in the *Codex traditionum* of Bamberg of the 9th century or later. The first authentic reference to *Stagnbach*

¹ *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Medieval Documents*, p. 104.

² *MGH., Diplomata regum Francorum*, vol. I, p. 96.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

is in 774, where we also find *Audembach*, *Rumbach*, *Burebach*, *Aetsinischbach*¹ and a note to the name-places tells us that *Audembach* is identified with *graben*, that is, with a ditch.² All the earlier references are from later copies or, in the case of *Karldorf*, *Eberndorf*, *Greifesdorf*, *Ratolfesdorf*, etc., in spurious documents. There is one doubtful reference to *-bach* as early as 727, and here we can study the origin of the word. In a 15th century copy of a document supposed to have been written 752-762, we find the words "de monasterio Vivario Peregrinorum, qui ponitur in pago Alsecense super fluvium *Morbach*."³ The same sentence occurs in 15th century charters of the year 772 and 775⁴ in a very fragmentary state, without the particular phrase. It is, therefore, impossible to ascertain whether the original document had such a phrase. The fictitious one of 727, of which we have only a copy from the 9th century, has the phrase "in loco qui vocatur Vivarius Peregrinorum, qui antea appellatus est *Muorbach*,"⁵ a totally impossible sentence, because, in a hand of the 9th century, the back of the document bears the inscription "*Exemplar Muorbach*," showing that *Muorbach* was the current name. Besides, in later times, the monastery is known only by the name of *Morbach*.⁶ Obviously, then, *Vivarium Peregrinorum* is the older appellation for which *Muorbach* is a translation. But, if so, then *bach* means "fish pond," which, as we shall soon see, is precisely the original meaning of the word, and *Muor* must be "*Moor*," that is, "Arab," for otherwise *peregrinus* "stranger, foreigner" is totally inexplicable.

¹ *MGH., Dipl. Karolina*, p. 121.

² *Ibid.*, p. 501.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 93 and 137.

⁵ *MGH., Dip. reg. Franc.*, p. 85.

⁶ "*Conobium Morbachense*" (913), *MGH., Diplomata regum*, vol. I, p. 16, "*monasterium Muorbach*" (977), *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 175.

We can now turn to *Resbac* in the *Vita S. Columbani*. In a document which purports to be of the year 635 we are told that three brothers, Dado, Ado, and Rado, founded the monastery of Jerusalem, which was commonly called *Resbac*.¹ Unfortunately, the only extant copy of this document is of the thirteenth century, and so it cannot be ascertained to what date "which was commonly called *Resbac*" may be ascribed. It certainly is an afterthought, an interpolation. Mabillon² claimed to have had an autograph before him when he copied this document, but as at the end of it the reference is to "regni eius" instead of "regni mei," it is quite certain that he did not see the original document, but only a copy of it. In various later sources we are told that the monastery was only afterwards named *Resbac* from the brook on which it was situated.³ The oldest reference to the name is in a list of various abbots of the year 760-762,⁴ but we do not know the date of this list. In any case, the year 760 would be the earliest date under which *Resbac* occurs.

Now, the question arises, how it is that a Germanic name is given to a brook in the region between Paris

¹ "Ergo dum illustris vir Dado, referendarius noster, eiusque germani Ado et Rado, monasterium Ierusalem in honore sancti Petri et Pauli et sancti Antonii, quod vulgo appellatur *Resbacia*, in Meldensi territorio situm, ad monachos vel peregrinos inhabitandum ac in Dei nomine solitaria vita fruendum, quod ex nostra etiam largitate meruerunt, devoti Deo iuvante construxerunt," *MGH., Dip. reg. Franc.*, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*

³ "De eo quod super fluviolum *Resbacensem* Briegensi in saltu sub eiusdem regula viri sanctus Dado monasterium dicaverit Deo," *Vita Faronis Episcopi Meldensis*, *MGH., Scrip. rer. Merov.*, vol. V, p. 185; "Denique ipse in secretis Brigiensis silvae *Rasbacia* fluvioli (cuius de nomine monasterium postea cognominatum est, addit *Vita III*, c. 7, 11) officinas prospiciens, cunctis habitaculis servis Dei adornans necessariis, in proprio patrimonio monasterium eadem supradicta regula (Columbani) Hierosolyma nuncupatur efficaciter construxit," *Vita Audoini Episcopi*, *ibid.*, p. 555; "Porro beatus Adoënus, ne impar in bonis operibus videretur suis esse fratribus, ipse etiam fabricavit Monasterium intra Brigense saltum, quod Hierusalem ab eo quidem est nominatum: sed nunc a fluviolo, super quem est situm, *Resbacense* dicitur Coenobium," Aimoini Monachi Floriacensis, *De Gestis Francorum*, lib. IV, cap. 41, in Bouquet, vol. III, p. 138.

⁴ "Godobertus abbas de *Rasbacia*," *MGH., Capitularia*, vol. I, p. 222.

and Troyes. Either it is merest accident that the name of the brook seems to be a compound, of which the second part is *bac*, or else the brook shares the property with the Germanic *-bah* of being an artificial fishpond, and was probably not so named earlier than the second half of the eighth century. The latter seems to be the more likely, since we have at least one reference in France to *bache* as an artificial canal draining one river into another.¹ A *Beccum* Helluini was the name of a monastery established in 1039 near Reims, and it is not likely that it was called after a brook, but, like *Murbach*, after an artificial pond draining the territory of the monastery. Wherever *bac* is first mentioned, it distinctly means a pond and not a brook, and in England it is explained as being a long, narrow body of water,² hence it naturally gave rise to a generalized meaning of "narrow body of water, brook." If *-bac* is an artificial pond, we can easily understand why the monastery which unquestionably was first named Jerusalem, and by all sources is mentioned as only later changed to *Resbac*, should have acquired that name, when, in the second half of the eighth century, the territory was drained, as swamps were then drained on an extensive scale in many parts of Europe. As the drainage work in Europe was unquestionably inaugurated by the superior skill of the Arabs and Goths, it can be seen why an Arabic word for artificial pond may appear both in German and French territory. That it actually did appear, will still have to be proved.

¹ "Icelles dames avoient fait clore et estoupper une *bache*, autrement nommee le goullet d'Ourne estante entre les moulins de Medary et Queon, par laquelle trenchee l'eau venante par la riviere de Udon cheoit en la rivier d'Ourne," (1439), in Godefroy.

² See p. 173.

III

We shall now investigate the presence of *-bec* and *-thorp* words in England. To ascertain the earliest genuine date of the appearance of these words there, we shall have first to investigate the authenticity of the early English charters in vol. I of Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*. We may exclude at once the clumsy Croyland charters which have long been recognized as forgeries. Next I shall show that the majority, if not all, of the early Kentish charters are forgeries. The early charters of the monastery of St. Augustine had been suspected as early as the twelfth century, but a commission of the early prelates which investigated them failed in its struggle with the monks to establish their spuriousness. None the less, all those which in the fifteenth century were made the subject of a chronicle by Thomas of Elmham¹ can easily be shown to be base fabrications. I shall quote the charters by their numbers in Birch's *Cartularium*.

No. 3, a grant by Aethelberht, King of Kent, to St. Andrew's, Rochester, of land at Southgate, 28 April, 604, is, at best, a late copy, as indicated by the much later Anglo-Saxon metres. Otherwise there is nothing suspicious in the document. Indeed, the absence of the year of incarnation would speak in favor of its genuineness, but it is so colorless in contents as to be of no value.

No. 4 purports to be a similar grant of the year 605. One of the witnesses is "Hocca grafio," while others are Hamigils and Thangil. *Grafio* for "comes" is a Frankish word, unknown in this connotation in England. The forger of No. 5, a similar grant in the same year to the same Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul in Canterbury, made of "Hocca graphio" two persons,

¹ Ch. Hardwick, *Historia monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, London 1858, p. XXIX, etc.

who appear here as "Hocca comes" and "Graphio comes," while the former witnesses appear now as Hamgisilus and Tangisilus. The two counts, Hocca and Graphio, appear also in No. 6, of the same year. The same reference to the impossible *grafio* is found in No. 366, a grant by King Kenulf in 821, and in No. 413, of the year 835.¹ That these are forgeries or imitations from Frankish documents is shown by the reference to "vassalli" in No. 366 and to "palefridi" in No. 413. "Parafrithi" are also mentioned in No. 395 (828) and No. 544 (877).

No. 7 is the famous *Bulla Plumbea*, or Privilege of St. Augustine, in favor of the same abbey, which is a gross forgery, but which shows us that uncial documents are to be considered with the greatest caution. In Trinity Hall there is still preserved an uncial copy of this forgery, made in the fifteenth century and very carefully executed.² There is little faith to be put in the other documents from Canterbury. Most of them are so bare of any definite facts as to give no handle for any discussion, but such phrases as "terram juris mei nomine Adesham cum campis, silvis, pascuis, et omnibus ad eam rite pertinentibus liberam ab omnibus secularibus servitiis et fiscali tributo, exceptis istis tribus, expeditione, pontis arcisve constructione" (No. 12, a. 616), "hanc autem praefatam terram in omnibus ad se pertinentibus pascuis, paludibus, pratis, silvis ac finibus maritimis ita liberam et quietam dono ac dico" (No. 13, a. 618), sound so much like Norman phrases, or, at least, like tenth century formulae, that there is little chance of their being genuine; but No. 13 is absolutely a forgery, because of the phrase "tropheo agiae crucis," which is of the tenth century.

¹ "Nec princeps nec graphio hanc lenitatem praefatam in alicujus honeris molestiam mutare audeat."

² M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge* 1907, p. 3.

No. 22 purports to be a grant of Wulphere, in 664, to the Monastery of Medeshamstede. It is a base forgery of not earlier than the end of the eleventh century. This is proved by a number of circumstances. The spelling of town names, Psychirche, Schelfremere, Leycestreschira, Notinghamschira, Huntingdonneschira could not possibly have occurred in an earlier document. The pertinence phrase "in bosco et in plano. in viis et semitis. in pratis et pascuis. in aquis et molendinis. in piscariis. in vivariis, in stagnis. et in mariscis et turbariis" is taken from Norman documents.¹ I have shown that *buscus* is unknown on the continent before the tenth century, and *turbaria* does not occur much earlier, if at all so early. I shall show further on that *mariscus* is unknown before the end of the eighth century. The passage beginning on p. 35 with "ne quis ignorantia laedatur" up to "ad Witelesmere pertinentium" is taken bodily out of a charter of about the year 1022.² The words "Bercaria de la Bigge," (p. 36), show that the forgery was committed long after the arrival of the Normans. None the less, the document is useful for us for the determination of the meaning of *bec*, which corresponds to OHG. *bah*. We have here the distinct statement that a *bec*

¹ "In bosco et plano in pratis et pasturis in aqua et extra" (1136), Dugdale, *Monast. anglic.*, vol. I, pp. 36 and 37, Nos. XL and XLII; "in plano et bosco, molendinis et aquarum decursibus" (1024), F. Lot, *Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint Wandrille*, Paris 1913, p. 41; "in plano et bosco" (1024), *ibid.*, p. 43; "in bosco, et plano, et pratis, et pasturis, in viis et semitis" (1165-1189), V. Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae baiocensis*, Rouen, Paris 1902, vol. I, p. 26. The "in bosco, in plano, et pratis, et pascuis, et molendinis, et turbariis, et stagnis, et uiuariis, et uiis, et semitis, in mari et in portibus maris, in mariscis" (1044) of J. M. Kemble, *Codex diplomaticus aevi saxonici*, vol. IV, p. 112, is too early by at least half a century. "In bosco et plano, in viis et semitis, in pratis et paschuis, in aquis et molendinis, in stagnis et vivariis, in maris et mariscis" (John), J. S. Brewer, *The Register of Malmesbury Abbey*, London 1879, vol. I, p. 339; "in bosco, in planis," *ibid.*, p. 331.

² Kemble, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

is a long, narrow body of water, passing out of the mere, used as a fishpond.¹ We are dealing in this forged grant with lands redeemed from the marsh, and get here a number of *thorp* places, such as Dodesthorpe, Gunthorpe, Suthorpe, Ragenildetorpe.

No. 25, a grant by Ceduualla, of land at Ferramere, in 670. This document will be discussed together with those which are given under the title *Chartae Aldhelm-ianae*, in the latest edition of Aldhelm's works.² The language of the five documents and of this grant is identical with that of Aldhelm's spurious letter to Ehfrid³ and is so pronouncedly Hisperic as to be impossible before the end of the eighth century. Indeed, the second document contains the word *tanaliter*,⁴ and the third contains the place name Tangmere, whereas *mere* does not occur in any genuine documents before the ninth century. Besides, it (No. 50 in Birch) contains the word *seohtra*, which is an Arabic word, as we shall later see. No. 25, too, has the place name Ferramere, speaks of "captura piscium," which is the usual expression in tenth century documents,⁵ and is signed by "Coenuualla basilleos", whereas *basileus* is first used in the *Hisperica famina* and is common in Anglo-Saxon documents of the tenth century.⁶ The third document, besides, ends with a perfectly rhymed eight line stanza, which alone would exclude its having been written before the end of the eighth century. The fourth and fifth documents contain no suspicious

¹ "Inter haec stagna est aqua angusta duorum stadiorum longa, quae vocatur Trendemerebec, habens in se duo piscaria . . . in australi vero parte illius est aqua angusta trium stadiorum longa quae vocatur Schelfremerebec, habens in se duo piscaria . . . in occidentali autem parte illius est aqua angusta duorum stadiorum longa quae vocatur Trendemerebeke habens in se unum piscuarium."

² *MGH., Auctorum antiquissimorum*, vol. XV, p. 507 ff.

³ See p. 18.

⁴ See p. 56.

⁵ Kemble, vol. III, p. 179 (980).

⁶ No. 707 (935), No. 730 (938), No. 740 (939).

material, although the dating by the year of incarnation in the last is extremely improbable in a genuine document.

No. 27, grant by Cynewale, before 672. The phrase "alti throni annuente moderatoris" belongs to the ninth century,¹ and the list of signers is taken out of Cenwulf's charters. Thus Aethelheard, Hygebeorht, Hathored, Unwana, Brord and Lulling are found in No. 293, while Ceoluf is found in No. 247. Hence it was forged after the end of the ninth century. No. 102 is another Winchester Cathedral forgery of the same character. This is of particular interest, since it has Aldhelm as a signer, proving that the so-called Aldhelm charters are tenth century forgeries.

No. 32, a grant by Wulfhere, is dated 624, which, of course, is impossible and so has been declared to be a mistake for 674. It contains a reference to *mancusi*, a word which was unknown before the end of the eighth century, since it is an Arabic word, and so it is a forgery.² The phrase "sine fine ullo in aeternum cuncta tempora labenti saeculi in velocitate deficiunt adque instar umbrae meridiano tranando decidant et cotidie volendo nolendoque de hoc saeculo labimur" is, like the one in No. 256 (789), "saeculi namque labentis tempora velocius vento aerem tranant," and in No. 394 (827), "orbita labentis seculi cotidiano deficit occasu," a variation or abbreviation of a ninth century formula.³

No. 34, a grant by Fritheuuald, in 675, is a forgery, since it contains the place name *Thorpe*, which is un-

¹ Cf. Nos. 441, 442, 473.

² *Mancusus* is first mentioned in 751, "pena compositura *mancosos* L auri optimi isibro," *Annali bolognesi*, Bassano 1784, vol. I, part II, p. 4, and in 752, "*mancosos* auri optimi," *ibid.*, p. 5; "*mancosos* auri optimi del sebro centum et pondera argenti centum" (752), G. Tiraboschi, *Storia dell'Augusta Badia di S. Silvestro di Nonantola*, Modena 1784, vol. II, p. 17. But the documents are hardly genuine. In England it appears first in a document of the year 785, No. 245.

³ See Nos. 428, 431, 457, 459, 500, 506, 563, 594, 612, 767, 775, 793, etc.

known before the ninth century. Besides, the phrase "cum campis silvis pratis pascuis et fluminibus et omnibus aliis rebus . . . rite pertinentibus" is decidedly of a later date in England than the seventh century. The Anglo-Saxon metes attached to this document are of a very late date, as may be judged from such words as "on þisser boke iwrite biez" and the ominous "an oþer landimere me shal vinde herefterward þat was igon albuten bi Aelfredes þe wise kinges daie to Cherte."

No. 36, grant to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, of land at Stodmerch, 675. The spelling *Stodmerch* at once relegates the document to a late time. The reference to "in marisco" cannot possibly be before the end of the eighth century, as may be seen from a study of the word *mariscus*.

The first occurrence of *mariscus* in France is in the *Polyptic of Rheims*¹ of early in the ninth century and somewhat later in the *Polyptic of Irminon*.² In the appendix to the latter, of much later date, we find the place name *Marisga*,³ but this is already recorded in 810.⁴ In 923 we learn that in Normandy the shorter form *mara* was applied to a pond⁵ and *mare*, *marest* about the same time make their appearance in England.⁶ In Flanders we get *mariscus* as early as 822,⁷ and *mares* in 832⁸.

¹ B. Guérard, *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims*, Paris 1853, p. 96.

² B. Guérard, *Polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon*, Paris 1844, vol. II, p. 208.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁴ *MGH.*, *Capitularia*, vol. I, p. 253.

⁵ "Dum post venationem in silvam, quae imminet alveo Sequanae juxta Rotomagum, stipatus obsequentium turbis comederet, sedens super lacum, quem usu quotidiano loquendi *Maram* vocamus, . . . et quia juxta *Maram* illud factum memorabile fecit, ideo ipsa silva usque in hodiernum diem *Rollonis-Mara* vocatur," Bouquet, vol. VIII, p. 258.

⁶ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. II, p. 478.

⁷ *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. I, p. 66.

⁸ Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, p. 393.

On German territory *mariscus* is extremely rare before 800. It occurs even after that date only sporadically, thus in the *Codex Laureshamensis* (Nos. 16, 98, 824, 825, 826, 828, 843, 844, 1233, 3659), and only once in the eighth century, in 765, in the *Codex diplomaticus fuldensis*,¹ where, however, it may be a later insertion. In any case there is no known instance of the word before 765. In England it is quite frequent from 774 on. All the documents in which it occurs before that date are forgeries. As in No. 36, so *mariscus* is again found in the same document with *Stodmersche* in No. 67, of the year 686, which on account of the spelling belongs to several centuries later. Independently of these positive proofs of forgery, it may be shown that all charters which are taken out of Elmham's *Historia monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis* or from the Trinity Hall MS. were forged by someone acquainted with Frankish charters before the eleventh century. Nos. 4, 5, 6 are from this collection: they contain the impossible *graphio*; No. 7 is the *Bulla plumbea*, another forgery. No. 35 has the phrase "cum silvis et campis ac paludibus cum fluminibus ac fontibus cum pratis ac pomeriis, et cum omnibus utensilibus in ipsa quantitate." No. 36, already shown to be a forgery, has "cum pratis, campis, silvis, fontanis, paludibus, fluminibus, et omnibus ad eandem pertinentibus rebus in ipsa quantitate." No. 40 speaks of "*cespis terrae*," No. 42 speaks of a "*curtis XII manentes habens*" and "cum silvis et paludibus, cum fluminibus et fontibus, cum pratis, et pomariis, cum domibus cunctisque utensilibus et omnibus ad eandem pertinentibus rebus, in ipsa quantitate." No. 67, already shown to be a forgery, has "omnes terras sationales, cum pratis, campis, silvis, fontanis, vel

¹ By F. J. Dronke, Cassel 1850, No. 27: "et dono prata in duobus locis foris murum ciuitatis Mogontiae in superiore *Merisge* et in subteriora."

mariscum." No. 73 has "pertinebat ad *cortem*." No. 86 has "cum omnibus ad eandem pertinentibus pratis, campis, *fontanis*, sylvis, piscariis, fluminibus, marisco, et quicquid ad supradictam terram pertinet." It has this extremely curious sentence: "ad cujus cumulum etiam affirmationis, *cespitem* hujus supradictae terrae super sanctum altare posui, et propria manu, *pro ignorantia litterarum*, signum sanctae crucis in hac cartula expressi." No. 90 has similarly "ad cujus confirmationem, *pro ignorancia litterarum*, signum sanctae crucis expressimus, et testes ut subscriberent rogavimus."

No. 90, which pretends to be of the year 696, is the last in which questionable sentences occur. All the rest in the Trinity Hall manuscript fail to furnish any definite source of suspicion. The same questionable *cespis* as in No. 86 occurs in No. 100, of 687, "necnon et *cespites* horum locorum pro ampliore firmitate libro supposui quem ipsi duo praefati episcopi in manibus suis tenuerunt;" in No. 107, of about 704, "nam earundem supradictarum *cespites* pro ampliori firmitate evangelium super posui, ita ut ab hac die tenendi, habendi, possidendi, in omnibus liberam et firmam habeat potestatem;" in No. 194, of 759 or 765, "sane quia cavendum est, ne hodiernam donationem nostram futuri temporis abnegare valeat, et in ambiguum devocare praesumptio, placuit michi hanc paginam condere, et una cum *cespite* terrae praedictae tradere tibi, per quam non solum omnibus meis successoribus regum sive principum, sed etiam michi ipsi penitus interdico, ne aliter quam nunc a me constitutum est, ullo tempore de eadem terra quippiam agere audeant;" No. 291, of 798, "utque illius donacio perseverancior fieret, ex eadem terra *cespitem* . . . misit et super altare salvatoris pro perpetua sua salute poni praecepit."

First as to *fontana*, *fons*. Outside of the above documents, *fons* occurs in No. 225, of 778, "in illum *fontem* qui dicitur forsea burna," and in No. 257, of 789, "*fons* quidam," but in these documents *fons* is not used in the formula. *Fontana* occurs in the formula in No. 198, of 762 and No. 206, of 770, and outside of the formula in No. 236, of 780. On Frankish territory *fons* does not occur in the formula in any genuine document before the tenth century¹ and originally belongs distinctly to the south, especially to Italy,² while *fontana* is an Italian word³ which indeed occurs in two German documents of the eighth century, but which have come down in twelfth century copies and so are not reliable.⁴ In reliable documents they cannot be found before the tenth century.⁵ The English documents in which *fons*, *fontana* occur give the impression of being imitations of Italian or Swiss charters, where *cortis*, *pomarii*,⁶ *terra sationales*⁷ occur frequently. So, too, the reference to the gift of the turf, *cespis*, as a sign of transfer of property, is mentioned by that word only in the *Chartae Senonenses* and *Turonenses*, and occurs in Frankish documents of Italy.

It can be shown that all the early documents in which these doubtful words occur are imitations of late eighth century Anglo-Saxon documents, which themselves are imitations of either Italian or Swiss charters. There are, indeed, many proofs that the same class of men who forged the Gothic Ravenna

¹ MGH., *Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. I, pp. 257 (955), 265 (956), Th. v. Mohr, *Sammlung der Urkunden zur Geschichte Cur-Rätians und der Republik Graubünden*, Cur 1848-52, pp. 75 (955), 88 (966), 91 (972).

² *Cod. Langob.*, c. 88 (772).

³ *Ibid.*, c. 806 (915).

⁴ MGH., *Diplomata Karolina*, vol. I, pp. 71 (770), 227 (791).

⁵ MGH., *Dipl.*, vol. I, p. 186 (948), 554 (972).

⁶ H. Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, Zürich 1863, vol. I, p. 140 (797), 146 (798).

⁷ M. Fantuzzi, *Monumenta Ravennati de' Secoli di Mezzo*, Venezia 1801-1802, vol. I, pp. 102 (903), 112 (918), 126 (949), 129 (950), vol. II, p. 9 (838).

document introduced in England the type of charters which were written there after 770, hence that Visigoths were responsible for the Anglo-Saxon diplomatics of the time.

Let us take No. 296, a grant by King Cenulf and his Queen Cenegitha to Christ Church, Canterbury, of land at Geddinge, near Denetun, or Denton, co. Kent, A. D. 799.

"In nomine domini Dei salvatoris nostri Jhesu Christi ego Cenulf rex una cum conjugē mea Cenegida regina referentes gratias largitori bonorum domino Jhesu Christo qui dilatavit terminos nostros juxta paternam antiquitatem in commune pertractavimus aliquam partem terre nobis conlate ad vicem rependere ne ingrati Dei beneficiis videremur largitori nostro qua de re a presenti die et tempore tibi pastori et familie ecclesie Christi Deoque dicte terram juris nostri que sita est in provintie Cantie que quondam apellata est Geddinge & þudu tun aratorum . IIII . contulimus in perpetuum posidentam et cum omnibus ad eandem pertinentibus pratis campis silvis pascuis et quicquit ad supradictam terram pertinet a quattuor partibus horientis occidentis aquilonis et meridie tuo husui et familie tue et remisionem delictis nostris ditonique subiciatis teneatis possideatis donetis commutetis venundetis vel quicquit exinde facere volueritis liberam abeat potestatem successoresque vestri defendant in perpetuum numquam me eredesque mei contra hanc cartulam descriptionis nostre aliquando esse venturus ad cujus cumulum etiam confirmationis cispitem ujus supradicta terra super sanctam altare salvatoris posui et propria manu pro ignorantia literarum signum sancte crucis in ac cartula expressi set et Cenegida idem fecit principesque mei ut pari modo propriis manibus facerent rogavi quorum nomina supter adnexa sunt si quis quod apsit contra anc cartulam a me factam ego eredes mei contraire presumserint noverint se a partici-

patione corporis et sanguinis domini Jhesu Christi esse alienos et a ceto fidelium segregandos hic et in eternum quam sepaedictam cartulam scribendam dictavi et tibi pastor cui supra tradidi conservandam.

“His vero notissimis terminibus circumgirata est in aquilone puplica stratus in oriente ita est in meridie terra sancta Eanspide in occidente dene tun. *Actum est XVI. kalendus agusti indictione VII. anno regni nostri. III.*

“*Signum manus Cenulfi regis.*

“*Signum manus Deodori episcopi.*

“*Signum manus Adriani abati.*

“*Ego Redun episcopus.*

“*Piot . dux . consensi.*

“*Tiolf dux . consensi.*

“*Cenelm filii regis.*

“*Biornhard minister.*

“*Eaheard diaconus.*”

Let us compare with this charter the one under No. 86, purporting to be of the year 694. All the italicized sentences are found in this forgery, down to the date of its issuance, in the same “XVI Kalend. Augusti, Indictione. VII. anno regni nostri tertio,” the name of the King’s wife, here spelled *Kynigitha*, and the signatures of *Bernhardus* and *Alhuuardus*, instead of *Biornhard* and *Eaheard*, or *Ealhheard*. Yet this charter is supposed to have been made under the direction of Wythred, King of Kent, to the Abbess Aebba. The late origin of this forgery is proved by the much younger spelling of the names. It is here that we find the pertinence formula containing *fontana* and *mariscus*, by which we get as the earliest limit for these words the end of the eighth century. But Cenulf’s charter is itself a forgery, since Bishop Theodore and Abbot Adrian did not live at the end, but at the beginning of the eighth century. Indeed, these two names occur

nowhere else in Cenulf's charters. On the other hand, it is not possible to ascribe priority to the Wythred charter, because, besides the late spelling of the names, the other grants of Wythred for the same period mention his wife's name as Aethelburga, No. 90 (696), No. 97 (697), No. 98 (697), or Werburga, No. 91 (696), No. 92 (694). The discrepancy in the name in the latter case shows that at least part of these documents, too, must be forgeries. It can be seen how the list of subscribers in the Cenulf charter was made up. After blundering with Theodore and Adrian, the forger drew some names from real Cenulf charters. Thus *Redun episcopus* is taken from charters after 816,¹ for before that time he was only a presbyter and abbot.² *Piot dux* is taken from *Piot presbyter* or *abbas*, mentioned from 814 on.³ *Cenelm filius regis* is found as *Kynhelm dux* from 804 on,⁴ *Biornhard minister* as *Bearnheard praepositus* and *dux* from the same date on,⁵ *Tiolf dux* as *Tiduulf dux* from the same date on,⁶ *Eaheard*, *Ealhheard diaconus* as *Allheard episcopus*.⁷ It is clear, therefore, that the forgery was made after 816.

We can now turn to the famous and much cherished uncial charter, which is also a base forgery. No. 45 runs as follows:

"In nomine domini nostri salvatoris Jhesu Christi. Ego Hlotharius rex Cantuariorum pro remedium animae meae dono terram. in tenid . quae appellatur . Uestan.ae tibi Bercuald . tuoque monasterio cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus campis pascuis meriscis . siluis modicis . fonnis piscaris omnibus ut dictum est ad eandem terram pertinentia . sicuti

¹ Nos. 356, 357, 358, 359, 366, 370, 378, 384, 387, 413.

² Nos. 343, 348.

³ Nos. 356, 357, 359, etc.

⁴ Nos. 316, 321, 322, 326, 328, etc.

⁵ Nos. 316, 340.

⁶ Nos. 316, 321.

⁷ Nos. 318, 321.

nunc usque possessa est . juxta notissimos terminos a me demonstratus et proacuratoribus meis . eodem modo tibi tuoque monasterio conferimus . teneas possedeas tu posterique tui inperpetuum defendant a nullo contradicatur . cum consensu archiepiscopi Theodori et Edrico . filium fratris mei neenon et omnium principum . sicuti tibi donata est ita tene et posteri tui:—quisquis contra hanc donationem venire temptaverit sit ab omni Christianitata separatus . et a corpore et sanguini domini nostri Jhesu Christi suspensus . manentem . hanc donationis chartulam in sua nihilominus firmitate et pro confirmatione ejus manu propria signum sanctae crucis expraessi et testes ut subscriberent rogavi . actum in civitate recuulf . in mense maio indictione septima:—In ipsa ante memorato die adjunxi aliam terram in Sturia juxta notissimos terminos a me demonstratus et proacuratoribus meis cum campis et silvis et pratis sicuti ante memorabimus supra dictam terram . ita ista sit a me donata eodem modo cum omnibus ad se pertinentia in potestate abbatis sit . inperpetuum . a me donata . a nullo contradicatur quod absit . neque a me neque a parentibus meis neque ab aliis . si aliquis aliter fecerit a Deo se damnatum sciat . et in die judicii rationem reddet Deo in anima sua:—”

This is not a bona fide charter, but an abstract of diplomatics, made by the forger from a long string of documents and very clumsily strung together. The formula “cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus campis pascuis meriscis . silvis modicis . fonnis piscaris omnibus” is, like that of Nos. 42 and 44, of late origin. The forger wrote *fonnis* for *fontanis*, which he did not understand. His *silvis modicis*, which helps us to ascertain the probable date of the forgery, arose in a very curious way. The notaries of the ninth century

in England took a great liking to the phrase "in *modicis* vel in magnis" of the Carolingian charters.¹ In the few rare cases where the phrase occurs before the end of the eighth century we invariably have a forgery. Take No. 127, a charter to Evesham Monastery of 710, which is immediately seen to be based on tenth century charters, for the Hisperic preamble "beantis universorum voce . . . nisi litterarum apicibus et custodiæ cautela scripturarum reserventur et ad memoriam revocentur" is taken out of Eadmund or Eadward.² The sentence "licet primi prothoplasti facinore violata . . . vilescerent" is taken out of No. 748, but the whole passage is also found in No. 768. Similarly, the phrase "tam in magnis quam in *modicis* rebus . . . campis pascuis . . . pratis . . . silvis . . . dirivatisque aquarum cursibus," was totally unknown before Eadmund's time, since when the juxtaposition of "magnis et *modicis*" with "campis" etc., is of extremely common occurrence.³ Thus it is seen that the Evesham charter cannot have been written before 940.

Now, the forger of the uncial charter No. 45 read *modicis* with *campis*, and thus produced the bastard "*silvis modicis*," which has no meaning whatsoever. Similarly, the *procuratoribus* of this charter has arisen from the Carolingian *procurator*, which is a few times used in ninth century English documents.⁴ It occurs in a document of the year 762 by Eardwulf, but the three charters under his name (Nos. 175, 176 and 199)

¹ "In omnibus causis *modicis* et magnis," No. 272; "in omnibus causis parvis vel magnis," No. 273; "in *modico* seu in magno irritam ducere," No. 275; "in *modicis* et in magnis," No. 366; "magioribus minoris," No. 370; "in magno vel in *modico*," No. 394, etc.

² Cf. "nisi firmis litterarum apicibus et cautela custodie reserventur et ad memoriam frequentativis ammonitionibus revocentur," No. 787. See also No. 620.

³ "In *modicis* et in magnis . campis . pascuis . pratis . silvis silvarumque densitatibus," No. 748; "in magnis quam in *modicis* rebus campis pascuis pratis silvis," No. 749. Similarly, Nos. 757, 758, 759, 761, 764, etc.

⁴ "Procurator in domino regni," No. 557 (888).

are certainly forgeries, since the annalists do not know such a king, and No. 175 is contained in the *Textus Roffensis*,¹ many of which charters are certainly spurious. It is very curious that the three pastures mentioned in this charter again occur in a charter by Eadmund in 942. As an example of the forgeries in this *Textus* may be taken the charter given in Birch under No. 152 (734), which begins with a paraphrase of the usual King Offa's charters of the end of the eighth century. The rest of No. 45 is a series of extracts from a large variety of ninth century documents, incoherently strung together.

Closely related to this charter is the other uncial document, No. 160, of 741, which is a forgery. It contains the late *mariscus*, and the clause "Verum quia cavendum est ne hodiernam donationem nostram futuri temporis abnegare valeat et in ambiguum devocare presumptio, Placuit mihi hanc paginem condere per quam non solum omnibus meis successoribus atque heredibus set etiam mihimet ipsi interdico ne aliter quam á me constitutum est ullo tempore quippiam agere audeant quod si qui forte observare neglexerint et absque digna satisfactione presentis vitae impleberint dies sciat se omnipotentis Dei iram incurrere et á societate sanctorum omnium segregatum . Quoniam sanctissimam beatissimae virginis Mariae locum deonestare conatus est . Qui vero haec augenda custodierint nihilque inrogarent adversi . auribus percipiant vocem clementissimi judicis inquentis ad pios . 'Venite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi'." This clause is also found in No. 194, which has the reference to the impossible *cespis*. It would seem that this charter, of the year 759 or 765, might be genuine. But it ends with the words "adjectis IIII daenberis in commune

¹ See the edition by Th. Hearne, Oxonii 1720.

salu," which occurs again in No. 339, of the year 811. Among the signers of the latter charter is *Sigereð rex*, as in No. 194. We know from the annals of such a king from 798 on, but absolutely nothing in 759. He occurs once more in 762, both times in the *Textus Roffensis*. But this No. 193 has the same phraseology as No. 160, showing the identity of origin. Thus "omnem hominem, qui secundum Deum vivit, et remunerari a Deo sperat et optat, oportet ut piis precibus assensum hilariter ex animo praebeat," of No. 193, corresponds to "provalibus desideriiis et petitionibus piis assensum semper praebere gloriosum constat esse et rectum et tum maxime cum eadem desideria et petitiones ad dilatandum et augendam vitam Christi sacerdotum ejusque servorum respiciunt," of No. 160. Again, the same sentence as in No. 193 is found in No. 255, of the year 789, which is also from the *Textus Roffensis*.¹ Indeed, Nos. 193 and 255 are identical except that one pretends to be written in Kent, the other in Mercia. We find the phrase "precibus assensum prebui" in No. 549, of 979, but supposed to be a mistake for 880. Thus we see that we have in No. 160 a forgery made by the same hand that made those in the *Textus Roffensis*. It was apparently made in the ninth century.

It can be shown that the vast majority of charters before King Offa, of the end of the eighth century, are forgeries, but this proof I reserve for a future time. Here I adduce only so much as is necessary to ascertain the genuineness of documents in which *bec*, *thorp*, and *den* appear. We have, so far, not been able to find a document in which *mariscus* occurs before the time of King Offa. Now we shall try to ascertain the genuineness of these latter charters.

¹ Cf. also No. 177, of 748, found in a Trinity Hall document.

Abbot Headda, in No. 283, ascribed to the year 798, says that the writing of a document was in imitation of the Greek custom.¹ Precisely the same preamble occurs in No. 304, of 802, and a similar one in No. 295, of 799. The same statement is made in No. 551, of 883. The reference to the necessity of writing down documents, lest the tenor of the grant be forgotten, occurs in charters up to the year 909,² and is met with in Offa charters³ and in a charter by Ecgfrid.⁴ Obviously the Greeks were not the only people that wrote charters, so there must be some misunderstanding here. We have already seen how the Anglo-Saxon charters senselessly quote Frankish formulae. This haphazard habit is well illustrated in the present case. The Anglo-Saxon charter is purely canonical in origin, even as the archbishop precedes the magnates in the signatures. In Carolingian times the *Regula formatarum*, ascribed to Atticus of the fifth century, as based on the decree of the Nicaean Council, came into vogue for ecclesiastic documents. According to this rule, the corresponding canonic epistles had to employ the Greek letters *ΠΥΑ* for the Holy Trinity,⁵ and other

¹ "Saeculi namque laventis tempora umbrae fugientes velociter tranant varieque eventum status in cogitationes hominum conscendunt ideo omnes firmas statutiones nostras litterarum serie confirmamus ne posteris cadant ex memoria praecedentium decreta patrum Graecorum ad hoc inbuti exemplis qui quicquid scire volunt litteris tradunt ne ex memoria lavetur estque nobis necesse praemeditandum in vagabundis temporibus saeculi . quomodo ad aeternam felicitatem pervenire valeamus quia cuncta quae videntur fugitiva sunt ad caduca quae autem non videntur perenniter sunt manentia."

² Nos. 445, 455, 490, 502, 590, 592, 593, 595, 603, 604, 606, 608, 610, 611, 612, 623.

³ Nos. 247 (785), 256, 257.

⁴ No. 277 (796).

⁵ "Greca elementa litterarum numeros etiam exprimere nullus, qui vel tenuiter Greci sermonis notitiam habet, ignorat. Ne igitur in faciendis epistolis canonicis, quas mos Latinus formatas appellat, aliqua fraus falsitatis temere presumeretur, hoc a patribus 318 Nicea constitutis saluberrime inventum est et constitutum, ut formatae epistolae hanc calculationis seu supputationis habeant rationem, id est, ut adsumantur in supputationem prima Greca elementa Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, hoc est ΠΥΑ, quae elementa octogenarium, quadringentesimum et primum significant

abbreviations, which had some numeric values. The first authentic letter of this type which has come down to us is of the year 806.¹ One document distinctly mentions the fact that it has become of value through the employment of Greek letters.²

There is not a trace of this custom to be discovered in the West before the end of the eighth century, and it is most likely that it was brought in by the Visigoths after their dispersion, together with the increased interest in Greek, which characterizes the Carolingian times. This is made the more probable since the preambles in the reports of the English Synods at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century are mere free renderings of similar preambles in the Visigothic documents.³ These preambles are based on those in the reports of the Toledo Councils of the seventh century.⁴

numeros; Petri quoque apostoli prima littera, id est II, qui numerus octoginta significat; euis qui scribit epistolam prima littera, cui scribitur secunda, accipientis tertia, civitatis quoque de qua scribitur quarta, et indictionis, quaecumque est id temporis, idem qui fuerit numerus adsumatur; atque ita his omnibus litteris Grecis, quae, ut diximus, numeros expriment, in unum ductis, unam, quaecumque collecta fuerit, summam epistola teneat. Hanc qui suscipit omni cum cautela requirat expresse. Addat praeterea separatim in epistola etiam nonagenarium et nonum numeros, qui secundum Graeca elementa significant AMHN," *MGH., Formulae*, p. 557.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 559 ff.

² "Hanc ergo epistolam *Graecis litteris* hinc inde munire decrevimus et anulo ecclesiae nostrae bullare censuimus," *ibid.*, p. 563; "*Grecis apicibus* dirigere," *ibid.*, p. 559; "et ut hae nostrae humilitatis litterae de praefato fratre vestrae caritati missae non fictae sed fixae, non ventosae sed firmae comperiri valeant, *Graecos apices*, quos ecclesiasticus mos in huiusmodi rebus agendis decrevit, constituit et obtinuit," *ibid.*, p. 567.

³ "Quod partium utrorumque communis est voluntas, licet mutuo debeat servari consensu, sed ad posteritatis memoriam reservandam adicitur testimonium literarum," No. 28, *MGH., Formulae*, p. 588; "licet, largiente lege, commutationis ordo vinditionis obtineat vires, tamen oportuna est, hoc pro futuris temporibus per scripturae conscribere tramitem, ut et pro conservanda memoria eius pateat series, et ea que sponte conveniunt, nullius manente obstaculo, pereniter sumant vigorem," No. 27, *ibid.*; "licet inter pacificas mentes definitio sola constet verborum, tamen pro memoria temporum testimonium adicitur literarum, quia nullatenus longi temporis spatium in ambiguitate transmittere poterit, quod velit nuper factum lectionis recursio ad memoriam reducit," No. 33, *ibid.*, p. 590.

⁴ "Nunc igitur, quia momenti locutio longae dictionis non capit excessum . . . in huius tomi serie conscripta tenete ac relecta praenoscite, et cunctis, quae tenori eius nostrae amplitudinis potestas impressit, vestrae beatudinis

The *Formulae Visigothicae* mentioned above are of very great importance for the establishment of the way in which Gothic influence was introduced into England in the eighth century. These *Formulae* were obviously not intended for use in Spain, but by Goths in Italy, for we have not only exclusive reference to Roman, instead of Gothic law, but also to the Langobard *morgingeba*, or dowry. There is but one country where Goths could be connected with Langobard and Roman law, and that is Italy, and the period is the eighth century, rather at the end of it, than at any other time. At the same time we see the peculiar way in which Goths produced their forgeries. No. 20¹ is a versed grant of dowry, which pretends to be written in the fourth year of King Sisebutus of Spain (615). This poetic production quotes both the Aquilian law and the Langobard *morgingeba* in the same breath with Gothic custom:

“Insigni merito et Geticae de stirpe senatus
 Illius sponsae nimis dilectae ille
 Ordinis ut Getici est et *morgingeba* vetusti . . .
 Post certe Aquiliam memini contexere legem,
 Qui cunctos rerum iugiter corroborat actos.
 Carta manet, mensis illius conscripta Calendis,
 Ter nostri voluto domini faeliciter anno
 Gloriosi merito Sisebuti tempore regis.
 Ecce manu propria, tribui qua dona illi,
 Subscripsi, ut longa maneat ac firma per aevo.”

gravitas effectum tam prompte ac miseranter impendat, quam nostrae mansuetudinis serenitas haec vobis implenda commendat,” *Con. Tol. VIII*, in *MGH., Leges Visigothorum*, p. 472 f.; “licet sublimationis nostrae primordia paternitati vestrae opinabili relatione non lateant, . . . nunc tamen melius id poteritis et scriptorum relatione cognoscere et promulgationis vestrae sententiis publicare, ut . . . ita et his orationum solamen impendat,” *Con. Tol. XII, ibid.*, p. 475; “ne oblitu quodam memoriam fugiant et relationi propriae curarum ea intercapedo subducatur, in huius tomi complicatione accipite renotata,” *Con. Tol. XIII, ibid.*, p. 478.

¹ *MGH., Formulae*, p. 583.

Among the early Anglo-Saxon documents a number of those ascribed to Offa begin with \dot{P} ,¹ which is an abbreviation of the Greek labarum. The same sign occurs in a large number of charters, especially in those made out by bishops, up to the end of the ninth century.² It is used in three charters of an early time. Of these No. 32 has already been shown to be a forgery. No. 26 has the unusual words "inmarcessibiliter, privilegii cautionem, testibus idoneis, seu in magnis seu in modicis," which mark it as of not earlier than the ninth century. There is nothing definite in No. 51 (680) by which its genuineness or spuriousness may be established, but it is extremely curious to find a reference to Aethilred, who was King of Mercia, as "rex Brittaniae," and this, to say the least, marks the document as a very late corruption.

It is clear that Offa was the first to use the labarum in England. Indeed, we have one of his documents in which the complete labarum is accompanied by \mathbf{A} and Ω , namely $\dot{P}_{\mathbf{A}\Omega}$,³ and one in the abbreviated form $\mathbf{AP}\Omega$.⁴ Though it may be that not all these charters are genuine, most of them certainly are, and No. 229 distinctly refers to the use of the Greek letters as a "scriptura firmata."⁵ Thus we have the positive proof that the Anglo-Saxon charters are of the canonical type. Several charters of about the same period have preambles that are amazingly like those in the *Formulae Visigothicae*. Thus "cum quis religiosorum virorum fideliter Deo famulantibus ex temporalibus terrenisque substantiis donare decreverit, hoc pro certo Christo

¹ Nos. 204, 205, 221, 233, 240, 245, 274.

² Nos. 307, 319, 349, 351, 356, 358, 359, 417, 428, 432, 433, 442, 449, 452, 462, 514, 537, 547, 559.

³ No. 230. Used later in Nos. 451, 524.

⁴ No. 229.

⁵ "In nomine domini nostri Jhesu regnantis imperpetuum universa que subsistunt et condita constant. In cujus etiam nomine hec scriptura firmata sit."

donatori bonorum omnium redonare constat" of No. 228 (779) and "quod quisque fidelium pro Christi reverentia servo Dei fideliter domino servienti misericorditer contulerit Christo hoc conferre dinoscitur" of No. 227 (778) are based on "fidelium famulorum servitia immaculata mentis obedientia ministranda condigna merito libertatis beneficia consequuntur, haec enim nunquam sunt naefanda commercia, quandoquidem fideliter servientibus provocamur recompensare dignissima praemia"¹ or a similar phrase.

It is well known that Offa stood in some relation to the Arabs, for he had a golden *mancusa* coined with an Arabic inscription. It is, therefore, not improbable to assume that Mozarabs were known to him and that these introduced the Arabic words for a number of geographical terms. I shall now show that this assumption is made a certainty by the study of the words which I have heretofore investigated in the charters.

IV

We have seen that *dorf* appears in the Swiss and German documents in the second half of the eighth century and that in England *thorp* is a rare word in place names and is chiefly found in the Danelaw district. Yet already the earliest English vocabularies contain two words which are related to the later *thorp*. The *Corpus Glosses* have "conpetum tuun *þrop*," while other early vocabularies record "copitum id est villa vel þingstów vel *þrop*," "*þrop* fundus." *þrop*, *þorp* occurs but once in Anglo-Saxon, in the sense of "outlying district," "Ic Aedgar gife freodom Sõe Petres mynstre Medeshamstede of Kyng and of biscop, and ealle þa *þorpes* þe ðaerto lin, ðaet is, Aestfeld and Dodesthorp and Ege and Pastem," but this is at such a late date

¹ MGH., *Formulae*, p. 577.

that it cannot be considered as a testimony for the meaning. It appears, therefore, that *þrop* never left the vocabularies in England until it was introduced again by the Danes in village names.

On the other hand, we have a curious word in the early Anglo-Saxon glosses which is identical with it in origin and meaning, but which has arisen in a different way and has had a different development. The *Corpus Glosses* give "*cespites tyrb*," while the *Leiden MS.* has "*ligones tyrf-ahga*." Other glosses give "*turf gleba*." Thus, *tyrb*, *tyrf*, *turf* means "sod, earth, greensward." Hessels¹ has already pointed out the fact that the *Leiden MS.* was written at St. Gall and was based chiefly on the St. Gall MS. 299. Indeed, the gloss "*ligones ferrum fusorium . i . tyrfahga, tyrfhaga*" is contained in it, and, apparently from there, was transferred to various other German glossaries.² The assumption that this St. Gall MS. 299 contains two AS. glosses, this one, and the one following after it "*sacelli seadas diminutivi*" is based on a complete misunderstanding of the origin of the St. Gall glosses. These are based on original Gothic glosses, which, in their turn, contained a large number of Arabic words. This can be shown conclusively in the present case:

tyrfahga is the Arab. *تربة* *turbah* + *عقب* *'aqab*, earth + hook, while *seadas*, which is found in the *Leyden MS.* as *sedes* and has given rise to AS. *seód*, *siód*, ONorse *sjóðr* "money bag," is Arab. *صيد* *šaid* "what is taken, captured, a bag of game," from *صاد* *šāḍa* "he took, captured, caught."

¹ A *Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of the Leiden University*, Cambridge 1906, p. XIII.

² Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, Berlin 1879, vol. I, p. 678.

The undigested Mozarabic glosses found their way into Anglo-Saxon without leaving any trace in OHGerman. Indeed, we find once, in the *Leges Alamannorum* a reference to *corfo*, but it is quite clear that the word is a later interpolation. Speaking about settling a dispute in regard to the possession of property, the law¹ says that the contestants raise up some earth which they leave in the hands of the count, who wraps it in a flag and seals it until the day of the contest.² The words "quod Alamanni *corfo* dicunt" are wanting in one text, and so are apparently a mere later gloss. In any case, the word never became popular on German territory, although *turba*, *turva* "turf" was adopted by OFrench and the other Romance languages.

Although *tyrfa* is based on a Gothic word, the Gothic language has preserved the form which one would expect from Arab. تراب *turb*, *turab*, recorded in Alcalá as *toráb*,³ namely *þaurp*. Now *þaurp* in Gothic means only "farm, earth," while at St. Gall it assumed the meaning "village." It is easy enough to see why this change took place there. In the Alamannian law, *corfo*, that is, *turbah*, means "cespis," but it is right here where the confusion happened, since in Italy and in Switzerland *cespis* not only means "sod," but also "praedium, villa," that is, "farm, hamlet."⁴ In the Langobard law *cespis* is constantly used in the sense of "fundus," and in Switzerland, as we see by the laws, the tradition with the turf was practiced even as in the

¹ MGH., *Legum sectio I*, vol. V, part I, p. 145.

² "Postquam girata fuerit, veniant in medium et de praesenti comite tollant de ipsa terra, quod Alamanni 'corfo' dicunt, et rama de ipsis arboribus infigant in ipsa terra, quod tollunt, et illas genealogias, qui contendunt, levent illa terra praesente comite et comendent in sua manu. Ille involvat in fanone et ponat sigillum et comendet in manu fidele usque ad constituto placito."

³ P. de Lagarde, *Petri Hispani De lingua arabica libri duo*, Gottingae 1883, p. 414.

⁴ See Ducange, sub *cespes*.

other Germanic countries; hence we conclude at once that the "traditio cum cespite," mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon charters, is taken out of Switzerland, rather than Italy, a fact which has already become clear through the use of such words as *cortis* and *fontana*.

The sudden appearance of *dorf*, *torf* in St. Gall charters after 760 coincides with the Anglo-Saxon *Leyden MS. Glosses* in time, and so we get the important confirmation that Mozarabic, that is, the Arabicized Gothic, was used by Germanic glossographers at the end of the eighth century to enrich the Germanic dialects for the purpose of forming literary languages, precisely as Latin has served for the formation of all European literary norms.

Just as *dorf*, *torf* of St. Gall has arisen from Arab.

ṭurb, so *bach* comes from Arab. بَقْعَة *baq'ah* "a place in which water remains and stagnates, a fishpond." That *bach* is not a Germanic word is shown, not only by its late appearance in brooknames, but also by its total absence from England, until its introduction by the Danes. The Keronian glosses translate *pak* by "stagnum," which shows that the original meaning is "swamp, fishpond." Now, in England *brōc* takes the place of German *bach*. This word does not appear in the early vocabularies, but is quite common in metrical formulae of the ninth and tenth centuries.¹ Although in England the word developed the modern meaning of "brook," the OHG. *bruch*, *brouc*, *bruoch* "palus, aquosa et lutulenta terra" shows that it was originally identical in meaning with *bach*. This is Arab. بَرَكَ, pl.

بِرْكٌ *birk*, pl. *birāk* "swamp, fishpond," given in *Alcalá*

¹ Already in 780 (No. 236, in *Birch*): 'fontanum quod nominatur Gytingbroc.

as "*bérq, biráq laguna, lavajal, bérque, biráq lauajo.*"
Cf. also Arab. بركة *birkah* "basin, pool, lake, reach of a river, place where water remains and collects."

In the St. Gall and Weissenberg documents we saw how *gau* came to take the place of "pagus." Goth. *gawi* "the surrounding country," hence *gauja* περιχωρος "one living in the country, peasant," is the only Germanic correspondent to the word. In the north of Germany and in England it never took a footing, and even in Germany it did not assume any meaning outside of geographic appellations. This shows conclusively that we are not dealing with a Germanic word.

It is Arab. جو *gaww* "what is between the heaven and earth, atmosphere, a wide part of a valley, a vacant, void, desolate place, in which is no one to cheer by his company," that is, in the geographic sense, "the country lying between inhabited places," hence جوة *gawwah*, in Palestine, "the town with the surrounding country."

The *bara* of the St. Gall documents is not found anywhere else. It is certainly Arab. براءة *barā'ah* "a writing of immunity or exemption, diploma," in Alcalá "*bará, baraguát carta de pago,*" since the South-German *bara* was a specific grant to a count and not a geographic division.

When we first meet with Anglo-Saxon boundary words, we are overwhelmed with Arabo-Gothic words. The same cause which led to their introduction in St. Gall led to their extraordinary use in the Anglo-Saxon charters. One of the oldest apparently genuine charters, of the year 778 (No. 225), runs as follows:

"Hoc signum suprascriptum sacrosanctae crucis Christi in nomine sanctae trinitatis . ego Cynewulf

rex Saxonum propria manu expressi . ad confirman-
 dam donationem munificentiae meae quam dedi .
 Bican . comiti meo ac ministro . Donavi enim ei
 pro expiatione piaculorum meorum no
 terram in modum . XIII . man[entium]. Ita ut
 in proprio possideat perpetualiter
 commutandi donandi vendendi cum omnibus quae .
 linquendi cuicumque voluerit heredi . . .
 . te sio in loco qui dicitur . Bedewinde
 . incola ipsius curtem erra tuun
 . terminisque . istis agellus ipse . XIII .
 manen[tium] . me ab oriente vallem
 vocatem . cymenes denu . et sic in longum vergens
 nes geat et sic in affricum vergens in longum
 illius septi tendit ad . peadan stigele deinde per iddem
 sept[um] . in filidleage . australem partem inde in
 longum praedicti septi in quoddam vallu in . haran-
 dene . sicque . per hoc vallum pertingit ad illum
 agellum qui dicitur . tatan edisc . et sic per occi-
 dentalem plagam ejusdem agelli jacet in illos tumulos
 torum . deinde in . bedewindan . et
 sic in longum illius spineti in horselget . et continuo
 rames dene geate . et extenso tramite
 ejusdem septi . to holhrygc gete . et eodem septo
 to hadfeld geate . et eodem septo to baggan gete .
 et sic in illud septum . to bradan leage . transitque
 . illo septo bradanleage intrans in . standene .
 et in longum ejus in quoddam vallum ejusque . valli
 serie in . puttan ealh . et sic in longum
 aggeris to bulcan pytte . indeque . in longum
 vallis et sic emenso spatio stratae in quoddam petro-
 sum clivum . et ex eo . baldwines healh . appro-
 supremum . sic quoddam vallum
 . ejusque . tramite progressum in illum vallem [ab]
 austro . bulcan pyttes . sicque . in longum valli
 progressa in illa antiqua monumenta in locum ubi a

ruricolis dicitur . aet ðam holen stypbum . sicque
 ad illos gabulos . in longum gemaerweges . to
 wadbeorge . sicque . of wadbeorge in illum fontem
 qui dicitur forsea burna . et ejus ex alveo inerat
 bedewindan . indeque [it]em in cymene[sdene].

“Acta haec scripta anno ab
 incarn[ati]one Christi . DCCLXXVIII . indictione
 I [his] consentien[tibus] u[na] mecum episcopis ac princi-
 pibus meis quorum nomina subter designantur . Si
 quis vero regum aut principum hanc donationem nos-
 tram infringere temptaverit sciat se in tremendo
 vivorum ac mortuorum examine rationem reddi-
 turum.”

Here “vallum” is translated by *denu* (Cymenes-, Haran-, Rames-, Stan-*denu*). None of the earlier charters in which the word occurs (Nos. 62, 102, 158, 165, 166, 171, 183, 194, 207, 216) are genuine, for various reasons independently of the use of the word. It is even possible that the present No. 225 is a late, interpolated copy, but this is not likely, since No. 230, which is certainly genuine, contains *denu*, and No. 247 (785), another genuine charter, by Offa, bears a striking resemblance to No. 225 by its direct insertion of the pretended Anglo-Saxon words in the text.

In this latter document we learn that *denu* is a pasture in the forest, “ad porcos alendos, unius greges pastum.” In No. 303 (801) we are told that *denbera* is found in the common forest, “adjectis IIII *denberis* in commune saltu id est on Caestersaeta walda.” This document is hardly genuine, but from the middle of the ninth century on *denbera* for “swine pasture” is quite common. Thus we find *denu* “valley,” *denn* “lair, pasture,” which is represented in the Germanic languages only in MDutch *dan* “forest, abode of wild beasts, waste place, open country.” This word, which is unrecorded in Gothic, is from Coptic *tepe* “protection,

asylum," through the Arab. ضياء *dabā'a* "he concealed himself in a covert of trees, or in a hollow in the ground, to deceive or circumvent the game or prey," hence ضايي *dābi* "cleaving to the ground, a sportsman concealing himself," مضياء *madbā* "a place where one conceals himself in a covert of trees, or in a hollow in the ground." Apparently the word entered into the Arabic at a time when the consonant *b* was not carefully dotted, hence gave rise to mistaking it for *n*, so that side by side with it we have ضنا *danā'a* "he hid, concealed himself in the land, or country;" but ضناء *dana'* also means "a multitude of children, or cattle." The latter does not seem to be an original Arabic word, and I am unable to ascertain whether it developed out of the first; but it is very likely that "breeding place" is related to "lair." It is significant that AS. *denu*, *denn*, have all the meanings of the Arabic ضناً, namely, "valley, lair, den, breeding place."

The next curious word we meet is *geat*. It is obviously the equivalent of "septum, enclosure." The word does not occur in early vocabularies, but is found in the ninth century in the sense of "gate, way, street." The OHG. *gaza* means "vicus, platea," hence the same as in Anglo-Saxon, while Goth. *gatwō* is found but once, in the sense of "platea." The various meanings are at once made clear from the gloss "callis est iter pecodum inter montes angustum et tritum" and "callis خطوة *ḥatwah*,"¹ while Lane gives for خطوة *ḥatwah*

¹ C. F. Seybold, *Glossarium latino-arabicum ex unico qui exstat codice leidensi undecimo saeculo in Hispania conscripto*, Berolini 1900, p. 52.

"a step, or pace." Obviously the *ḥatwah* was a narrow lane, generally lined with hedges and closed at each end by gates, precisely as our American pasture lanes are. Hence we get the various meanings, "enclosure, lane, gate."

"*Agellus edisc.*" That the word was foreign to Anglo-Saxon is shown by the fact that for a long time the glossators could not make out the real meaning of the word. The *Corpus Glosses* give "*edisc* deortuun broel" and "*edisc* weard broellarius," that is, it was taken to mean "park." In the Psalms *edisc* means "pasture;" in one case it is given as the equivalent of "vivarium," that is, "pond." The word has survived in English *eddish*, *earsh*, *arrish* "aftermath, stubble field." In OHG., *ezesc* is "seges, the sowing," still preserved in South-German *Esch* "field." In Gothic we have *atisk*, the translation of Greek "*σπόριμα*, a sowing." While OHG. *ezesc* would directly arise from Goth. *atisk*, the Anglo-Saxon *edisc* is phonetically irregular, hence we once more see that the word is a borrowing. In the Gothic Bible the word occurs twice, in connection with Christ's disciples walking through the wheat field and breaking off the ripe ears and rubbing the seed out of them. Apparently the Arabo-Gothic gloss explained the word *σπόριμα* by a word which meant "when the crop was already ripened," or "when the ears were already filled," Arab. اداḥس *aḍaḥs* or *aḍiḥs*,

4th form of Arab. داحس *daḥasa* "to fill up (the ears),"

داحس *ḍaḥs* "the field when the wheat is in the ear."

Thus *atisk*, in being transferred to Anglo-Saxon, came to mean "the field at the time of the ripening, after the ripening," hence "pasture, field in full bloom, park," while in OHGerman it preserved the meaning of "grain field."

Having shown how certain Arabic words found their way into Anglo-Saxon charters, it will be easy to treat the history of *mariscus* and other words which deal with the drainage of swamps. Beginning with 774 *mariscus* is very common in Anglo-Saxon documents. In that year Offa gave Archbishop Janberht three sulungs of land in the western part of the region called *Merscuuare* (No. 214). In the same year we have another grant to Janberht, in which one of the metes is *Mersctun* (No. 213). In 811 Cenulf granted to Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, some land which in one document (No. 335) is described as lying "in regione *Merscuuariorum*," while a later form of the same charter speaks of this land as lying "in *marasco*." There can be no doubt as to the meaning of *Merscuuari* as "a region of swamps."

Merscuuari is a compound, just as Goth. *marisaiws* "swamp, lake." That "swamp" is the original meaning is proved conclusively by the Ravenna document where *saiws* occurs several times for "palus." In OHGerman we have in the *Hrabanian Glosses* not only "stagnum *seo pah*," but also "*mariaseo* stilla maris." We meet with the second part of the word *seo*, *saiw* first of all in Italy, in 753, but here it is from the start confused with another word, *secaria*. At Nonantola we hear of a "fossa *Scavanorum* (*Scavariorum*, *Scavariolum*)" and "paludes que fiunt de fluvio Bondeno, idest *Secclia* (*Secaria*, *Treseclaria*), simulque Tubum qui exit de Bondeno in Porcariam et *Sayclam* (*Sagidam*) atque ex alio latere *Sycla* exiente de Vulpino intrante in lacum de Duracino."¹ The document is of later date and corrupt, but it can be shown that we have in the italicized words references to "swamps" and "drainage canals."

¹ *Storia dell' Augusta Badia di S. Silvestro di Nonantola*, Modena 1785, vol. II, p. 11.

In Coptic *šei*, *šēei*, *šeie* is "ditch, canal, irrigation ditch." This is probably not to be separated from *šik* "ditch," *šok* "hollowed-out place," from *šok* "to dig." At the same time, *manšei* means "swamp," and this is explained as being a nominal derivative from *šeei* "to fluctuate." This may be so, but a confusion with *šēei* "canal" was certainly unavoidable. We have in Arabic a number of words, hard to explain from a Semitic origin, for "swamp" and "canal," such as *سواحي* *sawāḥa*, *سواحي* *suwwāḥa* "the earth became very slimy by reason of rain," *سوخ. سوئوخ. سواخان*, *sawḥ*, *suw'ūḥ*, *sawāḥān* "the ground sank with them and swallowed them up," *سواحي* *suwwāḥa* "soft earth, into which the feet sink," *سبخ* *sabaḥ* "swamp," *سبخة* *sabaḥah* "a plain which in winter is covered with water (in the Sahara), but in summer dries up and leaves a layer of salt." Then again we have *ساقية* *sāqiyah* "a rivulet or streamlet for the irrigation of seed-produce, a small channel for the irrigation of land." Of course, we have the good Arab. *سقى* *saqa* "he gave to drink," already found in the Koran, so that there may be some old connection between the Arabic and the Egyptian.

The two Arabic words have given rise to a large number of interesting words in Europe. From *saw-waḥa*, *sabaḥ* we get Span. *sobar*, *sobajar*, *souar*, *souajar*, now "to knead," but originally "to turn into mud," as, for instance, "lodo tierra *souada*."¹ From *sāqiyah* we have the famous Spanish *acequia*, which has played an

¹ In Alcalá.

important part in the history of irrigation.¹ Though in Arabic *sāqiyah* and *sawwāḥa* are distinct, a confusion took place early, not only on account of the close relation between the swamp and its drainage, but because the plural of *sāqiyah* sounds very much like the word for "swamp," for Alcalá gives "*acequia ciquia çaviqui*."

If we consider the fact that in Spain also the form *cequiaria* is found for "drainage canal," we shall at once understand the multiplicity and diversity of forms in Italy. In the Nonantola document we have *scavaria*, *secaria*, *seclia*. At a later time we find the forms *saiguatoria*, *xaiguatoria*,² *seglaria*,³ hence *sayuare*, *seare*⁴ "to irrigate." In France, too, *seware*, *assewiare* is frequently recorded for "to irrigate," and *sewera*, *seweria* for "drainage canal,"⁵ and there are several forms in which, as in Italy, attempts are made to bring the drainage canal in connection with *aqua*, namely *execatorium*, *exaquatorium*. From these are derived OF. *esseve*, *escheuē*, *essiau*, *essau*, etc., "canal," *essever*, *essieweir*, etc., "to run off the water, dessicate," *sewiere*, *seuwiere* "sluice, discharge of a pond," hence *seuwer* "to discharge." It is not likely that in the Italian and French words there is really a contamination with

¹ See *Forum Turolii*, in *Collección de documentos para el estudio de la historia de Aragón*, Zaragoza 1905, vol. II, p. 149 ff.

² "Ubi sunt fovee vel *saiguatoria* (*xaiguatoria*) per que aque decurrunt" (1250), L. Frati, *Statuti di Bologna*, Bologna 1869, vol. I, p. 159; "*xayguatorium* vel *grondarium*" (1250), *ibid.*, p. 202.

³ "Omnia *seglaria* seu foramina, vel meatus in quibus mittitur vel mitti potest aqua in aliquam viam publicam civitatis" (1391), *Statuta varia civitatis Placentiae*, Parma 1860, p. 333; "de *seglarijs* stropandis" (1402), *Statuti e ordinamenti del comune di Udine*, Udine 1898, p. 93; "*sagledre domorum*" (1379), *ibid.*; "nemo de padua *seglarium* aut *scoluturium* de aqua habeat super viam publicam" (before 1236), *Statuti del comune di Padova dal secolo XII all' anno 1285*, Padova 1873, p. 263.

⁴ "Potestas teneatur facere duci aquam . . . pro *sayuandis* (in modern dialect *saué* "to irrigate") *ortis bergognie*" (1293), *Capitula et Statuta Comunitatis Baennarum*, Romae 1892, No. 101; "item statutum est quod aliqua persona non audeat uel presumat *seare* nec *seari* facere prata," P. Sella, *Statuta Communis Bugelle et documenta adiecta*, Biella 1904, vol. I, p. 54.

⁵ See Ducange.

Arab. *sawāḥa*, except indirectly, as all the forms can easily be explained from Span. *cequia*.

Before discussing the fate of the "swamp" and "canal" words in Germanic territory, it is necessary to amplify the Arabic "swamp" words. In addition to those given, it must be kept in mind that we have also the infinitive form سِيح *saiḥ* "to sink into the ground," and the interesting nasalized form سِنْخ *sinḥ* "the part of a tooth that enters into the flesh of the gum, the part of a knife or of a sword that enters into the handle, the part of an arrow-head that enters into the shaft."

From Arab. سَوَاحِي *sawwāḥa* we get Goth. *saiws* "swamp, lake," while سِنْخ *sinḥ* gives *siggan* "to sink, go down." The OHGerman has a greater variety of forms. We have both *sgan* and *sinkan* "to sink," and *sīhan* "to seep," and related to these is *gasig* "swamp, pool," *seo* "swamp, lake," *sēwjan*, *sewazjan* "to become stagnant." It seems, however, that *gasig* is already influenced by سَاقِيَة *sāqiyah*, because the corresponding AS. form means "drain." The early Anglo-Saxon vocabularies do not have *sgan* "to sink, decline, ooze, run, strain, filter," *sincan* "to sink," *seón*, pp. *seowen*, *siwen* "to strain, filter, run, ooze, trickle," *sæ* sea, lake," *sīc* "a watercourse," *seohtre*, *sihtre* "a drain." *Sīce* and *seohtre* occur only in late genuine documents, or in interpolations of early ones, hence they can be only late importations. The other Germanic languages need not detain us, as the corresponding words occur there at a later time.

The first part of Goth. *marisaiws* is harder to determine as to its origin, on account of the possibility of its being the Lat. *mare*. But since the Gothic has the peculiar *marei* "sea" (while in AS. *mere* is "stagnum") and, at the same time, *marisaiws*, as in OHG. *mariaseo*, means "swamp," it is more likely that we have here the Arabic word recorded in Alcalá as a "swampy, watery place," "fontanal lugar de fuentes *maraā*," "manadero o manantial *mareē muruāt*," which would lead to a form *مرعة* *mara'ah*. Dozy also records

مرع *marī* "green pasture." It is most likely that this Arabic word is at the bottom of the Germanic word, even as *مرجة* *marǧah* "pasture, swamp" gives Span. *almarjal* "swamp."

One of the earliest forms recorded in Ducange for swamp is *mares* (832). Other forms are *maresium*, *mareseum*, *mareschia*, *marisiacus*, *maretum*, *maricadium*, *maricium*, and it is mere accident that *mariscus* became the most popular. All of these forms are transformations of Goth. *marisaiws*, OHG. *mariaseo* "swamp," hence could not have appeared before the end of the eighth century, as is, indeed, evidenced by the documents in England and on the continent. But AS. *Merscuware*, as the name of a region, mentioned in 774, is apparently an adjective formation of *marisaiws*, precisely as such a region is mentioned in the *Codex Laureshamensis* under No. 1233 as "*Meriskero marca*." No doubt Offa referred to a region which was just being drained, and where, therefore, new grants were made. Just as the Arabs or Goths became known in Italy for their irrigation work, so they must have been active in England at the same time.

THE EUCHARIST

It is generally admitted that the Greek words in the Gothic language may have entered through the Latin, though Kluge assumes that the ecclesiastic terms are taken directly from the Greek, with a change of Greek *os* and *a* to Gothic *us* and *ō*.¹ As absolutely every Greek word which occurs in the Gothic Bible and in the *Skeireins* is found in the Latin ecclesiastic writers, especially of the ninth century, there is no necessity of assuming any direct borrowing even in the latter case. Indeed, the presence of *aiwaggelista* by the side of *aiwaggeljō* shows conclusively that the latter is derived from *evangelium*, and not from *εὐαγγέλιον*, because otherwise the first should have been *aiwaggelistes*. So, too, the shorter form *aiwaggeli* is identical with Provençal *evangeli* and is derived from *evangelium*. Similarly *pentecusten*, recorded in the Gothic Bible only in the accusative, is not only the same as the Latin accusative *pentecosten*, but the latter, as an indeclinable, is frequently met with in Carolingian writers. It is, besides, sufficiently clear that the Greek contingent was obtained from an Orthodox Catholic, and not an Arian, source, because the only supposedly Arian word, *κυριακόν*, which has given the word for "church" in all the other Germanic languages, is conspicuously absent from the Gothic.

The Greek *εὐχαριστία*, *εὐλογία* occur only once in Gothic, both in the Epistle to the Corinthians, in the forms *aiwxaristia*, *aiwlaugia*, where they evidently are learned words. In every other case where the Greek has *εὐχαριστία* our text has *awiliuþ*, which,

¹ Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd ed., p. 514.

as I shall later show, is a popular form of *aiwlaugia*. We shall now investigate why *εὐλογία* in the Gothic took the place of the usual *εὐχαριστία*.

Εὐλογία has in the New Testament the meaning of "blessing, benediction over the communion cup, charitable gift." St. Paul uses *ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας* for *τῆς εὐχαριστίας* and makes *εὐλογεῖν* equal to *εὐχαριστεῖν*. In Cyril *εὐλογία* refers to the Lord's supper or to the consecrated housel. In the days of Irenaeus it became customary to send such consecrated bread to adjoining parishes or to distribute it to absent persons who were sick or held captive. The Synod of Laodicea forbade such practice, on the ground that the Eucharist should not be used as *eulogiae*, *τὰ δῶρα εἰς λόγον εὐλογιῶν*, from which it is clear that *εὐλογία* had by that time accepted the special meaning of "housel sent to the sick, prisoners, etc."

When we study the *eulogia* aside from its ecclesiastic connotation, in the concept in which it is used in civil life, we not only get a clear idea of its origin, but also of its synonym *ἀντίδωρον*, under which it is known in the Greek church. An *ἀντίδωρον*, as the word implies, is a gift sent in return, hence it must be assumed that a custom existed at some early time by which a gift sent on some special occasion demanded one in return. We learn from two letters, at the end of the fourth century, that messages were accompanied by the gift of bread or cake, and that an *ἀντίδωρον*, here called *eulogia*, which was to be expected, was dispensed with, if the writer begged the recipient to consider the acceptance of the gift as tantamount to sending a *eulogia*. Paulinus ends a letter to Bishop Alypius by telling him that he sends him a bread for the sake of unity, and that this bread will be considered by him as a *eulogia*, if Alypius deigns to accept it.¹ In another letter, to St.

¹ "Panem unum Sanctitati tuae unitatis gratia misimus, in quo etiam Trinitatis soliditas continetur. Hunc panem *eulogiam* esse tu facies dignatione sumendi" (394), Migne, vol. XXXIII, col. 100.

Augustine, Paulinus says that he sends a bread as a sign of unanimity and begs him to bless it upon reception.¹ Obviously the *eulogia* could either be retained or returned, having been blessed by the recipient priest, when it was used for various purposes. Gregory the Great expresses his gratitude for the reception of a blessed *eulogia*, because this external expression of friendship is to him a proof of internal affection.² Venantius Fortunatus tells of an enormous mass of delicacies which were sent to him by an abbess as *eulogiae*³ and of similar delicacies which he returned from those sent him by her and which now Christians, praising Christ, would eat.⁴

Fortunatus describes what became a universal custom in France, for the Merovingian and Carolingian writings abound in references to it. Almost any article could form the subject of a *eulogia*,⁵ hence there was not

¹ "Panem unum, quem unanimittatis indicio misimus charitati tuae, rogamus accipiendo benedicas," *ibid.*, col. 103.

² "*Eulogias* vero sancti Marci a beatissima fraternitate vestra transmissas cum ea caritate qua sunt directae secundum notitiam earum suscepimus et gratias affectui vestro referimus, quia ex exterioribus, quales erga nos interius sitis, agnoscimus" (603), *MGH., Epistolae*, vol. II, p. 409.

³ "*Pro eulogiis transmissis.*

Sollicita pietate iubes cognoscere semper,
qualiter hic epulis te tribuente fover.

haec quoque prima fuit hodiernae copia cenae,
quod mihi perfuso melle dedistis holus," etc.,

Carminum lib. XI. 9, in *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*,
vol. IV. 1, p. 262.

⁴ "Munera direxi, sed non mea, crede fatenti:
ad te quae veniunt sunt tua dona magis.
melle superfluas cunctorum porrigis escas,
cuius ab ore pio dulcia mella fluunt.
copia quanta mihi maneat de munere vestro
credite, dum spargit iam gula victa cibos.
sed mihi da veniam, venerando corde benigna:
quod praesumpsit amor sit veniale mihi.
nunc Christum pro me chorus ille verendus adoret,
ne peccatorem me mea culpa gravet,"

Carminum lib. XI. 12, *ibid.*, p. 263 f.

⁵ "Misi vestre karissime paternitati parvas *eulogias*, id est manumtergium et pectinem, non quo hec digna vestris conspectibus iudicaret, sed quo conprobarem, melius esse parvo quam nullo pignore dilectionem mutuam demonstrare," *MGH., Formulae*, p. 375; "conperiat alma prudentia vestra,

much difference between a gift and a *eulogia*,¹ and the latter term is frequently used for the more common "munus" or "xenium,"² or the *eulogia* may be identical with a mere letter of friendship.³ But far more frequently the *eulogia* was not a mere conventional expression of politeness, but really consisted in the gift of a blessed bread, especially by a priest of high

quia¹ legati nobis venerunt ex partibus ill. provinciae, directi ab ill. rege eorum, ferentes nobis papilionem, mire pulchritudinis opere contextam, ita ut ferme 30 capere valet viros, et alia magna *eulogia*, obnixè nos deprecantes," *ibid.*, p. 453; "ut regem ac reginam sive procères condigno honore *eulogiarum* obsequiis visitaret," *Vita Sanctae Balthildis*, in *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. II, p. 498; "abba ex ipso monasterio nomine Beretoradus exiens urbe cum *eulogiis*, venit ad Agnum et dixit: accipe parvum minusculum argenteum," *Miracula Austrigisili*, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 203; "praemisitque suas ei *eulogias*, a venatione, quam paullo ante exercuerat, redeunti," *De S. Rigoberto*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. I, p. 175; "et quia quos caritas iungit, emensio terrarum non separat, ut caritas dilectionis, iuxta Apostolum, semper maneat in nobis, pro eiusdem caritatis dulcedine aliquid *eulogiarum* pariter sumamus. At cum nec panis in promptu, nec aliud quid, unde id fieri posset, requisitum inveniretur, conspecto eminus beatus vir Sorus, particulam adipis suilli, quod vulgo lardum dicitur, improvise reperit. Quam particulam partiens, singulas singulis sacris pro benedictione particulas reclusit in pugnis," *De S. Soro Eremita*, *ibid.*, Feb. I, p. 200; "dederunt nobis presbyteri loci ipsius *eulogias*, id est de pomis, quae in ipso monte nascuntur," *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, in E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Pereg. Aeth.*, Uppsala, Leipzig [1911], p. 106.

¹ "Suum agentem secretius direxit cum exenio vel *eulogiis*," *Vita S. Radegundis*, in *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. II, p. 382; "anne etiam ei oblatum esset aliquid a viris sanctis pro munere vel *eulogiis*," *Vita Eligii Episc.*, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 735; "sacramentales fecit litteras sub contestatione divina viro Apostolico Domno Germano Parisius civitatis Episcopo, qui tunc cum Rege erat, quas per Proculum suum agentem secretius direxit cum exenio vel *eulogiis*," Bouquet, *Recueil*, vol. III, p. 457.

² "*Eulogie* namque, quas destinare vestra decrevit sanctitas, magne atque adeo gratissime fuerunt," *MGH., Formulae*, p. 370; "cum enim assiduus vestris accumuler *eulogiis*, dignas nequeo de tante caritatis ardore rependere grates," *ibid.*, p. 371; "tulit quod pro benedictione offerre poterat et venit ad eum, et oblati *eulogiis*, salutavit patrem," *Vita Galli*, in *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. IV, p. 299; "tunc *eulogiis* praesentatis, cum salutationem patris humiliter et cum reverentia suscepisset," *Vita B. Schetzelonis*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. II, p. 179.

³ "Plures mihi, carissime, transierunt dies, ex quo volui in conspectu tuae caritatis meas litterulas sive *eulogiolas* mittere," *MGH., Formulae*, p. 506; "accepimus caritatis vestrae litteras. Magnas mihi *eulogias* misisti, dum tuam, venerande pater, agnovi sanitatem et prosperitatem: quae mihi plus placet, quam millena talenta auri et argenti," *Alcuinus Arnoni Episcopo* (796), in *MGH., Epist.*, vol. IV, p. 162.

standing.¹ It was considered a great favor to receive such a *eulogia* directly from the hands of the priest,² and at feasts it was not proper to eat bread until it had been blessed by the priest who happened to be present and small pieces had been returned to the feasters as *eulogiae*,³ even as they were supposed to possess miraculous properties.⁴ Although the *eulogia* is distinct from the Eucharist, it was frequently used for the same purpose,⁵ hence a semantic confusion between the two was imminent.

Thus we see that in France there existed a custom of sending a present on various occasions as a sign of especial favor and that in return for such a gift a part of the object so offered was sent back with the blessing

¹ "Cum *eulogias* peculiaris patronis vestri," *MGH., Formulae*, p. 101; "censum debita subiectionis desolvere perorguemus et voto, adque ideo salutationum munia cum *eulogias* peculiaris patroni vestri . . . direximus," *ibid.*, p. 102; "idcirco salutationum munia, quae decet, cum *eulogias* peculiaris patroni vestri . . . destinare presumpsimus," *ibid.*, p. 108.

² "Nunc autem rogo, ut pacem tuam non mercatur neque *eulogias* de manu tua suscipiat," *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. I, p. 272; "depraecor ut in mansione mea *eulogias* beati Martini dignaretur accipere," *ibid.*, p. 327; "acceptum vero homo ille panem non prius comedit, quam a sacerdote benediceretur, aut ab eo *eulogias* acciperet," *ibid.*, p. 766; "ut *eulogias* eius accipere mereretur dignareturque ipse potum vel cibum capere," *Vita Rusticulae, ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 340.

³ "Illa habebat repositum panem, quem memoratus Austrigisilus benedixerat et ei *eulogias* transmiserat," *Vita Austrisigili, ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 198; "calicem mero acceptum, poculum paulatim sumens de manu reddidit et oravit super mensam, *eulogias* dedit omnibus," *Vita Hugberti*, vol. VI, p. 490; "epulas benedixit, *eulogiasque* omnibus dedit," *Vita S. Huberti*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. I, p. 813; "ut in refectorio facta benedictione veniant duo presbyteri ad abbatem frangentes panem, et dant ipsi *eulogium*, ceteris fratribus stantes antequam accedant ad mensam" (after 813), *MGH., Epist.*, vol. V, p. 306.

⁴ "De femina curva ac omnino membrorum officio destituta, sed de *eulogiis* tantum a monasterio sancti Faronis missis sanata," *Vita Faronis*, in *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. V, p. 189; "omnes necantur praeter unum cui beatus pontifex Austremonius *eulogias* dedit," *Vita S. Austremoni*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. I, p. 50.

⁵ "*Eulogias* ex ea veluti sacram communionem ieiunus sumebat," *Vita Eligii*, in *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. IV, p. 685; "beatus vero Marsus praefrens ieiunium diei caritati, et *eulogiam*, qua communicare debuit, vilipendens, particulam quam acceperat a Sancto Melanio, in sinu suo cadere permisit," *Vita Melanii*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. I, p. 330.

of the priest, if it were sent to a clergyman, or else a *eulogia* of some patron saint received in the church was given. Hence Paschasius, writing in the ninth century, rightly defined a *eulogia* as "bread, already broken, received from the hand of a priest."¹ In many cases it was not necessary to return a gift, the sender simply mentioning in his letter that the acceptance of the same would be considered equal to the return gift of a *eulogia*. Thus *eulogia* came to mean "the gift itself, the blessed bread, the consecrated wafer," in fact, anything which had reference to the custom. In the ninth century it was still usual to send around loaves to the church,² in order to receive back small pieces of *eulogiae*, and similar gifts, sometimes considerable in value, were sent by peasants to their masters; and these in the twelfth century grew to be a great burden.³ Even as early as the ninth century some immunities include freedom from the exaction of *eulogiae*.⁴ In whatever sense we take the word, it was in France identical with Greek *εὐχαριστία* in its broadest meaning of "thanks," for it was, either as a gift or a benediction or a mere letter, an expression of thanks for a favor received.

¹ "Panem jam ex usu de manu sacerdotis *eulogias* vocamus," Migne, vol. CXX, col. 1026.

² "Primo videlicet die Rogationum, panis novus oblatus est Sennis ad benedicendum, ex quo plurimi, Deo gratias agentes, *eulogicos* sumpserunt" (868), Bouquet, *Recueil*, vol. VII, p. 275.

³ "Notum sit vobis quia volumus ut *eulogias* praeprari faciat secundum consuetudinem, sicut solet homo ad opus domini sui facere, tam ad opus domni Hl. quam et N. conjugis ejus. Et quando ille de Audriaca villa ad Compendium reversus fuerit, tunc volumus ut ibi fiant praesentatae; et postea volumus ut per brevem nobis indicetis, qualiter ab illo vel ab illa fuissent receptae," *Eginhardi Epistolae*, *ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 383; "cum his quoque *eulogias*, quas ex parte ecclesiae ipse Theodoricus et antecessor ejus consueverant accipere . . . videlicet porcum unius anni, denarios duodecim, et duodecim panes, et tria receptacula in anno" (12th c.), *Gesta Scheri*, *ibid.*, vol. XIV, p. 127.

⁴ "Nos autem praecipimus ut nullus . . . exquirere aut mansionaticum, aut paratam, aut parafredum, aut *Eulogias* praesumat" (875), *ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 648, also (878), vol. IX, p. 413, (915) *ibid.*, p. 524, (924) p. 566.

The offering from which the *eulogia* was taken was known under the name of *oblatio*,¹ *oblata*,² *oblatum*.³ The *oblatio* was known as *oblatio fidelium*, in so far as it was a gift of the faithful,⁴ or as *oblatio panis et vini*, since it consisted in gifts of bread and wine; but in every case *oblatio* was identical with "sacrificium."⁵ From the sixth century on the Councils of France carefully prescribed what the form and substance of the *oblatae* should be. From these statements it appears that they were round, in the form of rolls, and were made of pure wheaten flour and baked between two waffle irons.⁶ Thus *oblata*, on the one hand, meant "sacrificial bread," corresponding to the *δεσποτικὸν σῶμα* of the Greeks, and represented Christ's body when used in the Eucharist, and, on the other, was considered to be a delicately baked wheaten bread, a wafer, which was offered in the church, to be used as a hostia or *eulogia*.

¹ "Ut omnibus Dominicis diebus aris *oblatio* ab omnibus viris vel mulieribus offeratur tam panis quam vini, ut per has immolationes et peccatorum suorum fascibus careant," *Concilium Matisconense* (585), in *MGH., Leges* III. I, p. 166.

² "Ut *oblatae*, quae in sancto offeruntur altario a conprovincialibus episcopis non aliter nisi ad formam Arilatenis offerantur ecclesiae," *Concilium Aralatense* (554), *ibid.*, p. 118.

³ "Ut nulli liceat *oblata*, quae ad pauperes pertineant, rapere vel fraudere" (789), *MGH., Capitularia*, vol. I, p. 57, also p. 364 and vol. II, pp. 457, 500.

⁴ "De propriis ac magis quae in praedicto monasterio *fidelium oblatione* collata sunt" (598), *Gregorii I Registri*, in *MGH., Epist.*, vol. II, p. 93; "quod ex *fidelium oblatione* accesserit" (603), *ibid.*, p. 409; "de his quae *fidelium oblationibus* accedunt" (601), *ibid.*, p. 333.

⁵ "Non solum sacrificia quae a sacerdotibus super altare Domino consecrantur, *oblaciones fidelium* dicuntur, sed quaecunque ei a fidelibus offeruntur," Ducange.

⁶ "Similiter hostias de frumento electo et purissimo in alba faciat," *Liber Ord. S. Victoris Parisiensis*, in Ducange; "Munda sit *oblata*, numquam sine lumine cantes. Hostia sit modica, sic presbyteri faciant hanc. Candida, triticea, tenuis, non magna, rotunda, Expers frumenti, non falsa sit hostia Christi," *Raymundus in Summula, ibid.*; "quod pertinet ad Eucharistiam et ad corpus Domini; quia dignum est ut cum summa reverentia et diligentia geratur, expedit ut ipse quoque gerendi modus non taceatur. Primum igitur frumentum, de quo futurae sunt hostiae, quantumlibet bonum sit naturaliter et purum, tamen granatim eligitur," etc., *Constitutiones Hirsaudienses*, in Migne, vol. CL, col. 1086.

Previous to the ninth century *eulogia* and *oblata* preserve their distinctive meanings, but after that the two merge into one, both morphologically and in meaning. Ducange records *eulogia* "a certain tribute in the form of a gift,"¹ which shows that *eulogia* was probably pronounced in the Greek way, namely as *evloia*, even as *euangelion* was pronounced *evangelion*. From the confusion of such an *evloia* with *oblata* have arisen the forms *oblata*, *oblagia*, *oblia*, *ublia*,² and through a still closer contamination have come the forms *oblita*, *obleta*, *oblectae*, etc. That these forms are all due to a confusion with *oblata* and have not directly descended from it, is proved by the writing *eoblagia* for *oblagia*,³ for this could only be pronounced *eublagia* for an original *evlogia*, even as the Formulae generally write *eologia*, *eoglogia* for *eulogia*. This is again confirmed by the corresponding forms in the Germanic and Romance languages. OHG. *oblige*, *ofele*, *oblei* translate Lat. "eulogia, xenium, benedictio," in every case a meaning of *εὐλογία* and not of "oblata." So, too, MHG. *obley*, *oveley*, *oblay* mean "certain taxes paid to the church," while *oflāte*, *oflōte*, *ovelāte*, *oblāt* refer only to the housel or wafer; however, in MDutch *ouwele*, *uwele*, *huwele*, *oveleye* is recorded only as "wafer." All these words are not derived directly from *εὐλογία*, but from OFrench *oblīe*, *ovelīe*, *ovlie* "wafer, tribute," which is of very common occurrence in the poets and documents, and which is often found as *oblīa* in Spanish and Catalan. If we now turn to the Gothic, we find *awiliud*, *awiliuþ*, an earlier transitional form from *εὐλογία* to *oblata*, but exclusively in the sense of *εὐχαριστία*, or identical with OHG. *ovelei* "eulogia,

¹ Ducange, sub *eulogia*.

² "Dedit conventui ad obloyam" (14th cent.), *MGH., Scrip.*, vol. IX, p. 837 f.; "ut oblagiae fratribus a presbyteris in refectorio dentur" (817), Ducange; "*obliam* trium panum, unius sextarii tritici in festo Assumptionis B. Mariae" (1193), *ibid.*

³ Ducange, sub *eoblagia*.

xenium," hence not to be separated from the French word from which all these forms are derived. However, since the Mozarabs of Spain used *euloya* in the plural in the Arabic form اوليات *awlayāt*,¹ it is possible that the Gothic *awiliuþ* represents the Arabic word.

There is, however, an older form of *oblatum*, *oblata* which has entered into the Germanic, Celtic, Slavic, and Romance languages in a variety of important connotations. We have seen that the *oblata* was made of fine wheaten flour. This sense has been preserved in the Celtic languages. A nasalised form of *oblatum*, *oblata* is found in OBreton *unblot* "simila, wheat flour," also *blot*, Gaelic *blawd*, Armorican *bleud*, Cornish *blot*, *bles* "flour, meal." In French we have *blet*, *bleit*, *blaiz*, *blef*, modern *blé*, Provençal *blatz*, *blada* "wheat," Spanish *bledo*, Italian *biado*, *biada* "grain." These are all based on LLat. *bladum*, *blava* "grain" recorded from the twelfth century, but, no doubt, much older in origin. Obviously a *blatum*, *blata* existed by the side of *oblatum*, *oblata*. But this originally meant "sacrifice, for the "panis oblatus" was the "panis oblationis," "the bread of the sacrifice," hence the Germanic languages have preserved the root *blōt*- "to sacrifice." Venerable Bede says that the month of November was called *blōtmōnath*,² because the heathen Saxons sacrificed cattle to their gods in that month, but that is pure fiction, like that other statement of his that the month of May was called "trimilki" because the Anglo-Saxons milked the cows three times a day in that month. The month of November was the month of oblation among the Romans, because then the crops were all

¹ Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas*, Madrid 1888, p. 188.

² "November dicitur *blōtmōnath* . . . *Blōtmōnath* mensis immolationum, quia in ea pecora, quae occisuri erant diis suis voverent. Gratia tibi, bone Iesu, qui nos ab his vanis avertens, tibi sacrificia laudis offerre donasti," in *De temporum ratione*.

in, the winter pastures were thrown open to the cattle, and the soldiers received their new wine.¹ It was also the month of sacrifice *par excellence* among the Christians, because the main *oblatio* of the year was made on St. Martin's day, November 17, when most of the contracts for the winter began with cockerow, and all the dues from the fields and forests, especially the tithes, had to be deposited in the local church,² as, for example, we learn from the *Fuero general de Navarra*.³

Wherever *blōt* is used in the Germanic languages it refers to Christian worship, although in Norse it has been extended also to idol worship. Just as Lat. *offerre* has led to OHG. *opharon* "to sacrifice," so *oblatio* has produced Goth. *blōtan* "to worship," *gub-blōstreis* "sacrificer," ONorse *blōta*, AS. *blōtan*, OHG. *plōzan* "to sacrifice." Independently from this, and possibly directly from *oblatum*, has developed Goth. *blōþ*, ONorse *blōd*, AS. *blōd*, OHG. *bluot* "blood." The particular meaning is derived from the *oblatio vini*, which represented the Lord's blood. The latter was of particular interest to the Goths, because their sacrifice was of the nature of intinction, or commistion, as it was called in the Mozarabic Liturgy. This meaning is, however, not preserved among the Slavs, who in their *plūti* "flesh, body" refer to a custom of sacrificing under one kind only, that is, to an *oblatio panis*.

The Goth. *hunsl*, AS. *husl* "sacrifice" is similarly to be deduced from LLat. *hostiola* "the particle of the housel, *Θυσιαστήριον*," because in the Mozarabic Liturgy, as in the Greek, not the whole host, but only one ninth part was used in the Eucharist. *Hostiola* would give a form *hosla*, *husla*, which, as in so many Spanish words with *s*, has become nasalized.

¹ *Codex Theodosianus*, VII. 4. 25.

² In a future volume I shall discuss at greater length the origin of St. Martin's Chapel, and the agricultural data connected with it.

³ By Pablo Ilarregui and Segundo Lapuerta, Pamplona 1869, p. 127 ff.

Just as the three Latin words for the Eucharist have given corresponding Germanic derivatives, so Goth. *daupjan* "to baptize" is derived from the Latin term *dealbare*.

The visible proof of the accomplished baptism consisted in the white robe in which the newly converted pagans were dressed. "You have received the white garments," says Ambrose,¹ "that they may show that you have divested yourself of the integuments of sins and have put on the chaste robes of innocence," "even as Christ's garments were as white as snow, when he demonstrated in the Gospel the glory of his resurrection; for he whose guilt is forgiven is whitened more than the snow (*super nivem ergo dealbatur*).² Thus, too, children clad in white, according to St. Augustine, were inwardly purified.³ According to Alcuin, the neophytes were called *albat*i because they were baptized on a Saturday and wore white garments.⁴ Theodulphus summarizes all the previous reasons for the aubes in chapter XIV of his *Liber de ordine baptismi* and points out that it is necessary for the "new man" to appear in the splendor of white garments.⁴

The use of the white garment in baptism was common to the Visigoths,⁵ Italians,⁶ Franks, and Anglo-

¹ *De Mysteriori*, cap. VII, in Migne, vol. XVI, col. 399.

² "Infantes isti, quos cernitis exterius *dealbatos*, interiusque mundatos, qui candore vestium splendorem mentium praefigurant," *Sermo CCXXXIII*, in Migne, vol. XXXVIII, col. 1092; "tunc albis induitur vestimentis, propter gaudium regenerationis, et castitatem vitae, et angelici splendoris decorem," Alcuini *Epistola XC*, *ibid.*, vol. C, col. 292, and CI, cols. 614 and 1218. For more quotations, see Ducange, sub *alba* 4.

³ "Hodie *Albat*i, quia in Sabbato baptizati fuerunt, vestibus albis exuuntur. *Albat*i autem propter vestes albas vulgo appellantur," *Liber de divinis officiis*, cap. XXI, *ibid.*, vol. CI, col. 1223.

⁴ "Quia ergo omnia in baptismi ratione redolent mysteriis, et exuberant sacramentis, opportunum erat ut novus homo nova acciperet vestimenta et purgatus veteris noxae colluvione, candidarum vestium indueretur nitore," *ibid.*, vol. CV, col. 234.

⁵ "Deus qui Neophitos tuos majori animarum quam vestium nitore vestisti," *Liturgia mozarabica*, *ibid.*, vol. LXXXV, col. 475.

⁶ "Fonte renascentis quem Christi gratia purgans Protinus *albatum* vexit in arce poli," Paulus Diaconus, in *MGH., Scrip. rer. langob.*, p. 169.

Saxons, but nowhere did the white garments play such an important part as in France, where there even existed a method of freeing a slave by the formula of the aube, in imitation of the freeing of the spirit by baptism.¹ For these reasons *dealbare*, OFr. *dauber*, came to mean not only "to whiten, whitewash," but also "to baptize," at least, the Germanic Franks adopted this word in OHG. as *douf*, *touf* "baptism," hence *tiuf* "deep." Obviously, since *dauber* could have arisen only on French territory, the Goths borrowed their *daupjan* "to baptize," *diups* "deep," from the Franks. The Anglo-Saxons took from the Franks their *dyppan*, *dīpan*, "baptize, immerse, dip," hence *deóp* "deep," at a time when they fully understood the origin of *dauber* from *dealbare*, and, at the same time, freely translated *dīpan* by *fullian*, *fulwian* "to whiten, baptize," from *fullere* "fuller;" hence *fulluht*, *fulwiht*, etc. "baptism," because the fuller whitens the cloth with fuller's earth.

But if Goth. *daupjan* is unquestionably of French origin, the words which develop out of the use of the Eucharist in Gothic are similarly of French origin, because *awiliuþ*, from *εὐλογία* and *oblata*, finds its nearest correspondents only in French words. Hence the Gothic Bible cannot have been written before the end of the eighth century, when the contact of Visigoths and Franks first took place. This still remains true if *awiliuþ* was borrowed directly from the Arabic.

¹ "Ego in Dei nomine . . . illo ingenuo *in albis* ante sacri fontes in nostris mercedis augendum in luminibus esse precipio," *Formula Salica Merkeliana* 43, in *MGH., Formulae*, p. 257.

THE GHOST MASK

The Gnostic expression for a mystical consecration or initiation was τελεῖν, τελετή,¹ hence τέλεσμα very early acquired the meaning of a consecrated statue or object, whose purpose it was to ward off pests, noxious animals, torrential rivers, etc. These τέσματα had become extremely popular since the days of Apollonius of Tyana, who had a reputation, even among Christian writers, of working miracles by means of mystically consecrated statues. Justin Martyr did not deny the fact that the *telesmata* of Apollonius had miraculous powers,² and the universal opinion coincided with him in the efficacy of such consecrations.³ The main τέλεσμα was the τέλεσμα τῆς κάρας or εἰς κάραν, the mystically consecrated head of the Medusa, which had the chief quality of causing terror and warding off the enemy.

¹ "Ερωτος τελετή amoris initiatio, ἀποτελέσας ἀφιερώσεις et quum initiaveris, consecrabis," C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci musei antiquarii publici lugduno-batavi*, Lugduni Batavorum 1885, vol. II, p. 11; "εἰς τὰς σὰς ἱεράς τελετάς in tuis sacris mysteriis," *ibid.*, p. 17; "τελείεις δὲ τὸ δακτυλίδιον ἅμα τῇ ψηφῷ consecrabis vero annellum simul cum gemma," *ibid.*, p. 25, and often.

² "Εἰ θεὸς ἐστὶ δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῆς κτίσεως, πῶς τὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τελέσματα ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς κτίσεως δύνανται; καὶ γὰρ θαλάττης ὁρμαὶ καὶ ἀνέμων φορὰς καὶ μυνῶν καὶ θηρίων ἐπιδρομαί, ὡς ὁρώμεν, κωλύουσι," etc., *Quaestio 24*, in *Justinī Philosophi et Martyris opera*, ed. de Otto, Ienae 1881, vol. V, p. 34 ff.

³ "Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς) ἤκμαζε περιπολεύων καὶ πανταχοῦ ποιῶν τελέσματα εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ εἰς τὰς χώρας . . . ἐποίησε καὶ ἐκεῖ τελέσματα παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Βυζαντιῶν, τὸ τῶν πελαργῶν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Λύκου ποταμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως παρερχομένου καὶ τὸ τῆς χελώνης καὶ τὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ θανμαστά . καὶ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξελθὼν ἐποίησε εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀπολλώνιος τελέσματα . καὶ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἀπὸ Τυάνων, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ . καὶ ᾔτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀντιοχείς κτήτορες ποιῆσαι κακεῖ τελέσματα περὶ ὧν ἐδέοντο . καὶ ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸν βορρᾶν ἀνεμὸν, θήσας τὸ αὐτὸ τέλεσμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ διὰ τοὺς σκορπίους, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τολμᾶν αὐτοὺς πλησιάζειν τῇ χώρᾳ . καὶ ἔθηκε τὸ αὐτὸ τέλεσμα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως, ποιήσας χαλκοῦν σκορπίον καὶ χώσας αὐτὸν, πῆξας ἐπάνω κίονα μικρόν . καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀφανεῖς οἱ σκορπίοι ἐκ τῆς ἐνορίας Ἀντιοχείας πάσης," etc., Ioannis Malalae *Chronographia* L. X, in *Corpus scrip. hist. Byzant.*, vol. XIV, p. 263 ff. The same in *Chronicon Paschale*, *ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 467.

Τέλεσμα χάρας or *εἰς χάραν* was that devil mask which has played such an important part in the evolution of spookery in the Middle Ages.

Τέλεσμα entered into Arabic as *طلسم* *tilasm-un*, *talism-un*, *talasm-un*, *tilism-un*, also *tilsam-un*, *tilsim-un* "a concealed secret" and *طلسم* *talsama* "he sculptured, engraved, or inscribed, a thing with talismanic devices or characters, he charmed, guarded, preserved by means of a talisman." Apparently it was in Arabic also used for the *τέλεσμα εἰς χάραν*, for *طلسم* also means "he made his face to be displeasing, or odious, he drew back from fight." In Syriac *τέλεσμα εἰς χάραν* has survived in two curiously corrupted and abbreviated forms. The Bible translation has frequently *zahurâ* for "hariolus, necromantis, manes," but it just as frequently means "a belly demon speaking through the mouth of a witch," while the Arabic glosses give for it "the raiser of animals from the belly and the sides, raiser of the dead, wizard." This *zahurâ* was already known in the 2nd century A. D., if Photius' quotation from Iamblichus the Syrian is authentic.¹ But *zahurâ* is a contraction of *masqâ*-, *maseq-zahurâ*, just as frequently recorded with the same significance. In this combination *masqâ* is supposed to be a derivative of the verb *nasqa* "to raise," the idea being that the ventriloquist or wizard is a raiser of the dead, but this popular etymology is at once destroyed by the recorded *aseq bazahūrâ*, where the etymology is less apparent. It is obvious that *τέλεσμα εἰς χάραν*, producing *masqâ zahurâ*, combined the idea of the ghost against

¹ "Καὶ μάγον δὲ λέγει χαλάξης καὶ μάγον ὄφρων, καὶ νεκρομαντέας καὶ ἐγγαστρίμυθον, ὃν καὶ φησιν ὡς Ἕλληνες μὲν Εὐφυκλέα Βαβυλώνιοι δὲ Σακοῦραν ἀποκαλοῦσι," Codex 94.

whom the enchantment is spoken as well as the enchanter himself.

The short form *zəḥūrā* exists in Aramaic as זְחֹרָא *zəḥūrā* "an enchantment with which to raise the dead," while *maseq*, *masqā* is recorded in the Talmud as מַסֵּק *mazīq*, מַסֵּק *mazīqā* "demon, evil spirit, one who does damage," and this has been assumed to be the derivative of the verb נָזַק *nāzaq* "to suffer hurt," hence נֶזֶק *nezeq* "damage, hurt," נִזְיוֹן *nezīqān* "division of the Talmud dealing with damages." But this verb does not exist in any other Semitic language, and occurs but once in the Bible, namely in the Book of Esther, where it is obviously an Aramaic word. Consequently it can be only a back formation from *mazīq*. As the date of the writing of the Book of Esther is considerably removed from the beginning of the Christian era, it may be assumed that the Greek term τέλεσμα εἰς χάραν existed even before the time of Apollonius.

In the West of Europe τέλεσμα εἰς χάραν has survived in a similar set of corrupted words. The longest of these is LLat. *talamasca*. Theodulphus, the Visigoth, had given a description of this bugaboo in a poem entitled *De Talamasca*¹ and Hinemar in 852 forbade the presbyters attending processions in which devil masks, *talamascae*, were carried.² This word has survived in OFr. *talemashe* "larva faulx visaige de bateaux aur enchanteur" (1487), *talemaschier* "souiller, salir," Neuchâtel *talemacher* "crier, parler, gronder." The Wallon evolution of this word is very instructive

¹ "Pusio personae cum vultum obducit inanem,
Quod tremit hinc terret; quod fugit inde fugat.
Credo et prostratus jacuit, palmasque tetendit,
Ante Redemptorem parvula membra movens," in Ducange.

² "Nec turpia joca cum urso vel tornatricibus ante se facere permittat, nec larvas daemonum, quas vulgo *talamascae* dicunt, ibi anteferre consentiat: quia hoc diabolicum est, et a sacris canonibus prohibitum," in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. CXXV, col. 776.

in explaining the further development in the Germanic and Slavic languages. Here *talmaheg* is "noise," *talmahen* "schemer, noise-maker," etc., while *talmahi* is "to do things secretly, search in all corners, scheme, put in confusion, rummage, work in the dark, mix up in other people's affairs, make a confused noise." Thus we pass here from "mask" to "secret," hence "to talk confusedly, mumble;" but this change has already taken place in LLat., for here literally *talamasca* means "secret writing."

In MDutch we find recorded *talmasche* "mask," *talmaschen* "to put on a mask," while Old and Middle High German record *talmasga*, *dalamischa* "mask, monster," while Schmeller gives *vedalemantschien* "to act secretly, to swipe." All the Low German dialects have developed from this a verb *talmen*. In MLG. *talmen* means "to talk nonsense, act slowly," but in the older period it is glossed with "manisare, to act wildly." Similarly we get OFris., MEng. *talmen*, ONorse *talma* "to plague, be troublesome," but in OFrisian it has also the meaning "to talk incessantly, mumble, prattle." From this the MLGerman has developed the forms *taleman*, *taelman*, *talickesmann*, *talickman*, *tollick* "orator, talker, interpreter." That the older form was *talmasch* as in OFrench is proved by the Slav. *tolmac*, *dolmetch* "interpreter." But the form *talickman*, introduced, no doubt, like the first, into Russia by the North German traders, has produced Slavic *tolk* "interpreter," Eng. *talk*.¹

In Italy the curiously transformed *malatasca* became the usual expression for "demon, devil," and this was further changed to *malatesta*. The OHGerman had the shorter form *tala* "larva," but this has not survived

¹ In my book, *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Medieval Documents*, p. 47, I have attempted to refer this *tolk*, Eng. *talk* to *dulgere*. While the influence of *dulgere* cannot be denied in some cases, it is more likely that the LGer. *talickmann* is responsible for most of the forms.

anywhere. The briefer *masca*, like the Syr. *masqā*, Aram. *maziq*, became very popular in Europe. The Langobard laws call a witch *masca*,¹ but Aldhelm, writing at about the same time, speaks of *masca* as a mask worn by soldiers in order to terrify the enemy,² while Gervasius of Tilbury says that *masca* is a *lamia*.³

It is not impossible that the Western *masca* and Syr. *masqā* should have developed independently from τέλεσμα εἰς κάραν, but it is highly improbable that it should have happened in that way. It is far more likely that the western use of the word proceeded from the Syriac and Aramaic through the Syrians and Jews resident in the western part of Europe. This is made all the more probable from the Span., Ital. *mascara* which represents exactly Syr. *masqā zehūrā*. This Span. *mascara* is also found in Arab. مسخرة *masharah*, as though from سخر

saḥara "to make fun of, scorn," but this Arabic word is not recorded before the 12th century and is undoubtedly a borrowing from the Spanish. OFrench has also *mascara* forms. *Machure* is "mask" and *mascurer*, *masquiller* "to blacken the face," which is retained in Fr. *mâchurer* and in the various dialects,⁴ also Prov. *mascara*, *machura*, *mascalha*, etc. "to blacken the face, disgrace," by the side of *masco* "witch, storm-cloud, mask," hence *mascot* "little sorcerer, magician."

¹ "Nullus praesumat aldiam alienam aut ancillam quasi strigam, quae dicitur *masca*, occidere," *Roth.* 379; "si quis eam strigam, quod est *mascam*, clamaverit," *Roth.* 77.

² "Nam tremulos terret nocturnis larva latebris,
Quae solet in furvis semper garrire tenebris,
Sic quoque mascharum facies cristata facessit,
Cum larvam, et mascam miles non horreat audax,
Qui proprio fretus praesumit fidere questu," *De octo principalibus vitiis*, in J. A. Giles, *Sancti Aldhelmi Opera*, Oxonii 1844, p. 214.

³ "Lamias, quas vulgo *mascas*, aut in Gallica lingua *strias* nominant, physici dicunt, nocturnas esse imagines, quae ex grossitate humorum animas dormientium perturbant, et pondus faciunt."

⁴ See E. de Chambure, *Glossaire de Morvan*, Paris 1878, sub *mâchurer*.

The relation of "black face" to "ghost, apparition" is brought out in the group from which English "shine" is produced, and which originates in a similar manner from the Syriac or Arabic. In Greek *σχήμα* had early acquired the meaning of "adornment, dress," more especially "monk's garment."¹ Similarly *schema*, *scema* is very frequently used in Latin in the two senses of "adornment" and "monk's garment,"² while *ascemare* is used by S. Columbanus for "adorn,"³ and *scemari* "to adorn oneself" is recorded twice.⁴ Hence we get the extremely popular OFr. *acheme*, *acesme* "adornment, woman's adornments," *acesmer*, *acemer*, *acheumer*, etc., "to adorn, dress up," *acesmeement* "elegantly, magnificently, brilliantly adorned, dressed up," OProv. *acesmar*, *asermar*, *assermar* "to adorn, fix up," *acesmademen* "befittingly." So, too, Ital. *accis-mare* "to fix up," Fr. *hachement* "necklace."

In Irish we have *sciam* "beauty, splendor" and in Gothic *skeima*, rendering phonetically precisely the Gr. *σχήμα*, "splendor," and from this the corrupted *skeinan* "to shine, glisten," and the derived *skauns* "beautiful, well formed." So, too, OHG. *scīmo* "splendor, flame," *scīman* "to shimmer," but more commonly the corrupted *scinan* "to shine," *scīn* "light" and the derived *sconī* "beauty," *sconī* "beautiful." AS. *scīma* "splendor, brightness, light," *scinan* "to shine" are identical with the OHGerman and Gothic, but Goth. *skauns* is not represented. Here we find AS. *scīne* "beautiful, fair, bright," which proves conclusively that Goth. *skauns*, like AS. *scīne*, is derived from the same root as *skeinan*. Modern German has *Schein* "light, glimmer" and *Schein* "sheen, splendor," while OHG. *scōni*

¹ Already used by Justinian in his *Novellae*, V. 2, 4, VI. 6, CXXIII. 35.

² See Ducange sub *scema*.

³ "Quia naturam ascematus est, qui eam ex nihilo creavit," *ibid.*

⁴ "Si quis autem frater in specie sua sibi visus fuerit *scemari*, vel satis gavisus, mox a praepositis suis ei tollatur"; "ergo bona saturavit bonis poenitentem, non in *scematibus* mundi, non in publico gloriantem," *ibid.*

has produced *schön* and *schon*, the latter coinciding semantically with Provençal *acesmademen*. The other Germanic languages have also both forms, but ONorse has not any derivative form *skauns*, showing once more that the latter word is not original in Germanic.

I have already mentioned that *σχιμα* means "monk's garment." We can now determine the connotation which would be connected with this word. Cassianus wanted the monk's garment to be as rude and simple as possible and distinguished by no color, that is, it should be of the simplest and most unattractive color.¹ S. Benedict did not wish the monks to discuss the question of color, but to take the cheapest kind of cloth found in the country.² It has been disputed that the color was exclusively black,³ but there cannot be the slightest doubt that it was chiefly of a dark color, and in the East almost exclusively black or tawny. This is shown by the Slav. *černec*, i. e., "black," and by the Slav. *šima*, *skima*, *skuma* "the monk's garment," generally understood to be black; but the best proof is furnished by Syr. *šam* "black," *šīm*, *šīmā* "black, tawny, vulgar, simple," *šīmūtā* "darkness, blackness," Aramaic *ܫܗܡ* *sēham* "black, tawny." No other Semitic language has the word, except the Arabic, where *ساحم* *saḥama* "he blackened his face," *ساحم* | 'aṣhamu "black," *ساحم* | *saḥima* "it became black,"

¹ "Operimenta, inquiens, non vestimenta, ut in quibusdam Latinis exemplaribus non proprie continetur, id est, quae corpus operiant tantum, non quae amictus gloria blandiantur: ita vilia, ut nulla coloris vel habitus novitate inter caeteros hujus propositi viros habeantur insignia: ita studiosis accurationibus aliena, ut nullis rursus sint affectatis per incuriam sordibus decolorata. Postremo sic ab hujus mundi separentur ornatu, ut cultui servorum Dei in omnibus communia perseverent," Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. XLIX, col. 65.

² "De quarum rerum omnium colore aut grossitudine non causentur monachi, sed quales inveniri possunt in provincia qua degunt, aut quod vilius comparari possit," *Regula*, cap. LV, in Migne, vol. LXVI, col. 771.

³ *Ibid.*, col. 781 ff.

السحم *al aṣhamu* "a certain idol which was black, the night clouds," سحط *saḥamata* "to blacken, soil" show conclusively that they are borrowed from the Syriac, as this has borrowed from the Greek.¹ This Syriac-Arabic meaning of "black" is represented in all the Germanic languages for the same forms for which we have the meaning "shine." We have OHG. *scema* "larva," MLG. *schemen* "shadow," MDutch (in Kilian) *schemel* "vana apparitio," AS. *scima* "shadow, gloom," *scimian* "to be dazzled, blurred," *scīn* "an extraordinary appearance, a spectre, evil spirit, phantom, magic." Of course, it may be possible that the Germanic languages developed this meaning independently and directly from the Greek, but as neither the LLatin nor any Romance languages have a trace of this meaning, it is more likely again that the borrowing was through the Syriac or Arabic.

¹ That the Syriac proceeded from the Greek *σχῆμα* is proved by the presence of *shīmā* in the sense of *σχῆμα* "garment." In the *Acta Archelai* it is given in the Latin, through misunderstanding of the Greek, as "pallium autem varium, tamquam aërina specie," (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig 1906, vol. XVI, p. 22), where the Syriac has *shīmā* and the Greek obviously had *σχῆμα*. See K. Kessler, *Mani*, Berlin 1889, p. 118.

ARRAS CLOTH

There exists a universal conviction that the city of Arras was the center of the manufacture of tapestries, from which they derived their name.¹ Not only do all the dictionaries and cyclopedias repeat this utterly untenable statement, but even serious works which deal with the history of tapestry manufacture have fallen a prey to this plausible etymology.² No wonder, then, that the city of Arras should feel a special pride in its glorious past, and that even the French Government in the beginning of the seventies of last century should have furnished the sum of 4500 francs in order to restore and renovate a fifteenth century Arras tapestry which had for many years been lying in a dusty lumberroom belonging to the Cathedral of Tournay.³ It is not very gracious in me to attempt in the following pages to prick the bubble of so long established and apparently innocent a prejudice, which all Europe has accepted, but truth is the watchword of science, and all I can do is to sympathize with the learned Abbé van Drival, whose apologetic work on the Arras tapestry⁴ will form the starting point of my investigation, and with the other writers, from whose learned opinions I am by force of documentary evidence obliged to dissent.

Van Drival bases the claims of Arras to a priority and excellence of its tapestry manufacture on the presumption of a continued evolution of its woolen

¹ *La Grande Encyclopédie*, sub Arras.

² Müntz, *La tapisserie*, Paris [1883], p. 121.

³ *Tapisseries du quinzième siècle conservées à la Cathédrale de Tournay, leur fabrication à Arras en 1402*, etc., Tournay, Lille 1883, p. 32.

⁴ *Les tapisseries d'Arras*, Paris s. d.

goods manufacture in antiquity, when the *vestes Attrebaticae* were among the best known in the Roman world. He adduces the *birri*, *saga*, and *xerampelinae* as proofs of a highly developed industry in Arras. I have shown¹ that the *birri* were universally manufactured, from Tibet to Spain, and that they were coarse mantles, the more costly ones differing from the cheaper grades in the use of a finer wool. Van Drival quotes² Vopiscus: "Donati sunt ab Attrebatensibus birri pretiosi, birri canusini," but he both misunderstands the passage and quotes a bad text. The *Thesaurus linguae latinae* has it,³ "Donati sunt ab Attrebatis birri petiti, donati birri Canusini, Africani," from which it would appear that the Attrebates not only manufactured *birri*, but also carried on a commerce in mantles from Canusium in Italy and from Africa. This is important, as it indicates an early trade relation, so that one must be cautious in referring to the Lowlands and Flanders what was only exported from there; and Klumker has shown that even in Carlovingian times the Frisians did not manufacture costly mantles, but only traded in such as they bought up in England and elsewhere.⁴ The same is true of the Gaulish *saga*, which were made of long, coarse wool.⁵ If the native *birri* and *saga* were coarse, the *xerampelinae*, if they were really fine, must have been imported, like the *birri*. Thus there is nothing left of the first two chapters on which to base the

¹ *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée*, vol. XLIV, p. 63 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ Sub *birrus*.

⁴ J. Klumker, *Der friesische Tuchhandel zur Zeit Karls des Grossen und sein Verhältnis zur Weberei jener Zeit*, in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden*, vol. XIII, H. I (reprint p. 66): "Die Friesen waren vielmehr die klugen, gewandten Handelsleute, die britische und heimatliche Gewebe vertrieben. Die heimatlichen Erzeugnisse aber, die sie mit den andern in den Handel brachten, waren gewöhnliche, grobe Gewebe."

⁵ E. Kober, *Die Anfänge des deutschen Wollgewerbes*, Berlin and Leipzig 1908, p. 7.

presumption of an old manufacture of fine, highly colored stuffs.

In the third chapter Van Drival presupposes the existence of a manufacture of tapestries at Arras, because the cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Vaast d'Arras mentions *cortinae* and *tapetes* "quibus ejus locus est insignis."¹ But the same cartulary gives a very large number of other articles, among them some of ivory, which certainly were not made at Arras, and so this reference to tapestry is of no value whatsoever. The author then quotes from the same cartulary (I am unable to find the passage), the following: "La ville d'Arras est la plus anciennement connue pour la fabrication des tapisseries, en quoi elle excellait. C'est à Arras qu'avaient été fabriquées les différentes pièces qui représentaient toute la vie de St. Alban, premier martyr d'Angleterre. Elles furent données au Monastère anglais de ce nom par l'abbé Richard, qui le gouverna depuis 1088 jusqu'en 1119." This refers to Abbot Richard, who presided at St. Alban's from 1097-1119. But Thomas Walsingham, who wrote the *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani* in the reign of Richard II, has nothing whatever to say about the city of Arras. He only refers to a dossel in which the passion of St. Alban was depicted.² Van Drival has no real reference to cloth of Arras before the end of the fourteenth century. The author records for the year 1380 "un grand draps de l'oeuvre d'Arras" and gives its Latin equivalent, *opus Atrebatium*. But the Latin translation is a mere slavish ren-

¹ P. 34, also in his *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras rédigé au XII^e siècle par Guimann*, Arras 1875, p. 111.

² "Dedit etiam casulam unam, auro, tassellis, ac gemmis pretiosis, adornatam; stolas binas pretiosas, cum manipulis; capam unam purpuream, morsu et tassellis carissimis redimitam; albas duas, cum paraturis brudatis; textum unum, et dossale unum, sive tapecium, in quo Passio Sancti Albani figuratur," *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, London 1867, vol. I, p. 70. Van Drival refers to this passage on p. 78.

dering and of no use, and the *oeuvre d'Arras* is itself vitiated by the *pannus del Arest* frequently mentioned in England in the reign of Henry III, although the city of Arras, which is of common mention in the documents of this time, is known only as *Arras*, *Arraz*, *Araz*, and never as *Arest*. It is true, F. Michel¹ distinctly separates the two cloths, in which he is utterly mistaken, but Van Drival identifies them, and so only weakens his argument in favor of the city of Arras. His reference to Henry of Huntingdon, who says that all the tapestry in England was imported from Arras,² is based on some mistake, for in all of Huntingdon's works there is no reference whatever to Arras.

Leaving out these pretended early references to Arras as the city from which the Arras tapestry came, we now arrive at the historically certain references to Arras cloth, none of which in Van Drival is earlier than the year 1383. These are drawn exclusively from de Laborde's *Les ducs de Bourgogne*.³ Here we find citizens of Arras working in "draps de haute liche," while Jehan Deurdin of Paris produces two tapestries "de la fachen d'Arras." Unfortunately, this is a biassed list, for only such makers of tapestry have been selected as live in Arras or work in the Arras fashion. Now, it would have been very strange if Arras workers were lacking from the list of the Burgundy dukes, for the reason that their relation to Arras was a very intimate one. The same register from which the list of tapestry workers is chosen shows expenditures of very large sums for various services at Arras.⁴ Money was paid out in 1419-20 for a solemn mass at the church of St. Vaast d'Arras in honor of

¹ *Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication et l'usage des étoffes de soie*, Paris 1852, vol. I, p. 260.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 94 ff.

⁴ De Laborde, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 157 ff.

Duke Jehan, deceased. In 1425 the city of Arras received considerable aid to rebuild its churches demolished in the siege of 1413. Then again, we have tapestry of *haute lisse* manufactured at Paris,¹ at Tournay,² at Brussels,³ at Lille.⁴

On the other hand, Jehan de Croisettes is mentioned as "tapicier sarrazinois demourant à Arras,"⁵ and Jaquet Dordin, though living at Paris, makes his tapestry of fine Arras wool.⁶ All these references are of great importance, since they are all previous to the year 1400, and, therefore, as old as the references to Arras. They tend to invalidate the assumption that the city of Arras led in the production of what was known as Arras tapestry, and the references to Arras wool and Arras thread, so common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, show that, at best, the raw material from which the tapestries were produced may have come from Arras. But even this, we shall soon see, is incorrect. Van Drival could have made a far better plea for the superiority of the Arras production of artistic hangings by referring to the celebrated Giachetto di Benedetto da Razzo, who in 1442 was called to Siena to introduce and teach the manufacture of *panni di Razzo* in that city.⁷ But this correlation of Giachet-

¹ "Pierre de Beaumez, ouvrier de haultelice, demourant à Paris," *ibid.*, p. 87; "Colin Bataille, tapissier et bourgeois de Paris . . . pour un drap de haulte lice de l'ystoire de Théseus," vol. III, p. 58; also pp. 63, 117, 171. "Jaquet Dordin, Alain Diennys," *ibid.*, p. 109, "Pierre Labourebien," *ibid.*, p. 134.

² "A Robert Davy et Jehan de l'Ortye, marchans de tapisserie, demourant à Tournay . . . pour viij pièces de grans tapis de haulte lice contenant ensemble XICXX aulnes," *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 399; also p. 437.

³ "A Jehan de Rave, marchand tapissier, demourant à Bruxelles—à cause de VCVII aulnes de tapisserie de l'ystoire d'Hanibal," *ibid.*, p. 496.

⁴ "A Camus du Gardin, hautelisseur, demourant à Lille, pour certaines parties de tapisseries," *ibid.*, p. 500.

⁵ "Pour un tapis sarrazinois d'or, de l'istoire de Charlemaine," *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 42.

⁶ "Tapisserie de fine layne d'Arras," *ibid.*, p. 195.

⁷ "Veduto quanto sarebbe honorevole et utile, che quello nobile exercitio del fare e *panni di razzo* si piantasse ne la nostra città et che de' cittadini imparassero; et al presente ci sia uno de' più famosi maestri di questa

to de Razzo with *panni di Razzo* is a mere coincidence. Flemish tapestry workers, then the most renowned in the world, were swarming in Italy, and there would be nothing strange if one should be from Arras. In Ferrara, too, the Flemish artists were at work, but here not one is given as from Arras.¹

We shall try first to determine what the *drap d'Arras* was, not in literary references, but in the commerce of the Middle Ages. In the year 1190 Florus, Bishop of Friuli, entered into an agreement with the Consuls of Genoa to regulate trade between the two cities. Among other things, they determined the number of pieces of various kinds of cloth that were to constitute a torsel.² While it took 12 pieces of cloth of Figeac, Limoges, Beauvais to make a torsel, cloth of Arras, "*arraziorum peciae*," either because it was lighter or was made up in smaller rolls, went 24 to the torsel, while barracans were still lighter and were figured at 35 to the torsel. In the Marseilles tariff of 1228, *stamforts* and *vers d'Arras* pay the same duty as Beauvais barracans.³ It is not clear that these *stamforts* were manufactured at Arras, but this is to be assumed from a tariff at Perpignan of the middle of the 13. century.⁴ Here we find "*panno staminis forti de Ras*" listed at 8 d., whereas "*panni qui vocantur rasses*" are sold at

arte, chiamato maestro Giachetto da Razzo; providero et ordinaro, che sia rimesso nei magnifici Signori, Capitano di Popolo et Gonfalonieri Maestri, che possino et debbino conduciare el detto maestro Giachetto," etc., G. Milanese, *Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese*, Siena 1854, vol. II, p. 211 ff.

¹ G. Gruyer, *L'art ferrarais à l'époque des princes d'Este*, Paris 1897, vol. II, p. 454 ff.

² "Ut autem de torsellorum quantitate nulla sicut olim possit questio suboriri pecias in singulis duximus exprimendas," *Historiae patriae monumenta, Liber iurium reipublicae genuensis*, vol. I, col. 361.

³ "Estan forz e *vers Daras* e saillas e barracans de Belvez la pessa deu donar VI deniers," L. Méry and F. Guindon, *Histoire analytique et chronologique des actes et des délibérations du corps et du conseil de la municipalité de Marseille, depuis le X^{me} siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, Marseille 1842, vol. I, p. 345.

⁴ *Revue des langues romanes*, vol. IV, p. 365 ff.

4 d. Apparently the *panno rasse* is not considered as cloth from Arras, and is the lowest on the list, even while Arras stamforts are much cheaper than cloths from Ghent, Douai, Cambrai and Ypres. In another tariff of 1295¹ *drap de Roax* (no doubt for *Rax*) is again listed among the less costly cloths, and the same is true of an ordinance of Jerez of 1268,² where the best Arras cloth, "el mejor *panno de Ras*," is to be sold at 6½ sueldos, or at a much lower price than cloth of Ghent, Douai, or Ypres. The *vers Daras* of the Marseilles tariff was, to judge from the list of prices, of better quality than cloth of Louviers, Rouen, Narbonne, Beaucaire, Avignon, Figeac, Lérída, Limoges, which paid 4 deniers, but not nearly as good as Saint Omer stamforts, which paid 12 deniers, or draps de grana, which paid 2 sous. A better idea of its quality is obtained from a Portuguese law of 1253,³ in which the price at which a cobitus is to be sold is given for a large number of goods. Here a cobitus of *arraiz* brings 11 solidos, while the best Flanders scarlet brings 3 libros, English scarlet 70 solidos, English ingrain 45 solidos, Rouen and Ypres cloth 40 solidos, and so on. It is inferior to Saint Omer, Normandy, Bruges stamforts, but somewhat better than Valenciennes, Tournay and Chartres cloth; in fact, it is in the list of the less expensive materials.

Now, let us see what can be gleaned about this cloth from Arras records.⁴ In the year 1250 Arras tailors had special inspectors at Douai,⁵ but it does not appear whether they worked in Arras cloth. In the 14. century Arras cloth workers could be found at

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 84.

² *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Leon y de Castilla*, Madrid 1861, vol. I, p. 64 ff.

³ *Portugaliae monumenta historica, Leges et consuetudines*, vol. I, p. 193.

⁴ G. Espinas et H. Pirenne, *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandre*, Bruxelles 1906.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 29.

Béthune.¹ Unfortunately no conclusions can be drawn from these facts as to the popularity and importance of this Arras cloth, because Douai and Béthune are geographically very near to Arras, so that there would naturally be there workers from Arras factories, who brought with them the art of making Arras cloth, whatever its value may have been. In Arras itself there is found a reference to Arras cloth in 1232, "tenitorium textorum Atrebatensium," and over the meaning of this "textorum" a controversy has recently waged, Loriquet maintaining that it referred to Arras tapestry, Guesnon, that it meant "weavers."² There is really no reference to *drap d'Arras* before the year 1330. From 1307 to 1319 the Countess of Artois purchased at Arras various stuffs which were apparently manufactured there, escarlate sanguine, sarge,³ meslé, royé, pers azuré,⁴ pers noir, mellé verde, camelin cendré,⁵ vermeil de varence, noir gouste de vermeil.⁶ Most of these appellations refer only to the color of the cloth, but sarge and camelin are distinct varieties. In 1330 the makers of *draps d'Arras* have special stalls in the Hall for the sale of their goods.⁷ In 1335 we hear of *draps d'Arras et saies endrappées d'Arras*, the latter being apparently not very different from *saies*, a coarse material for monks' frocks. As the two pay the same duty of 12 d., the *draps d'Arras* could not have

¹ "Que nulz ne mèche en oeuvre trayme de entre deus venans d'Arras, se n'est en drapperie du petit compte," *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 331; "Que tous draps de pelis, d'aiguelins et de traime d'Arras qui se feront en XII^c et en deseure soient faiz et ouvréz bien et souffisanment de tous les mestiers de le drapperie comme les draps du grant compte," *ibid.*, p. 333.

² *Ibid.*, p. 114 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁷ "Que tout chil et toutes chelles qui, puis hores en avant, feront *draps d'Arras* en le ville et ou jugement d'eschevins et tout autre ou que il maignent, qui aront *draps d'Arras*, qui les vauront vendre en le ville, arront et tenront estaus en le dite hale," *ibid.*, p. 137.

been of much better quality. They also manufactured there Maubeuge and Valenciennes cloth, which were considered as not better than wrapping cloth and paid only 6 d.¹ They also produced there biffes, stamforts, cambrisiens.² But there was a cloth, *drap d'Arras*,³ and in 1333 various rules in connection with the manufacture of this cloth were drawn up at the request of the Portuguese and Spanish merchants who came thither to buy *drap d'Arras*,⁴ and no draper could be chosen into the Council of Twenty who did not actually manufacture *drap d'Arras*.⁵ From a similar regulation we learn that this cloth was occasionally made of goat's hair, but that henceforth such hair was to be employed only in the manufacture of bishairons.⁶ The *drap d'Arras* became a standard for certain kinds of cloth in other cities, and in 1403 we hear in Douai of a *ploy d'Arras*.⁷

¹ "De tous grans draps d'Arras et saies endrappées d'Arras, qui seront vendu en le dite ville en gros et non autrement en le halle ou as hosteus ou ailleurs, et des saies pour fros de moignes et de toutes autres, pour tant que elles aient aune et demie de lé ou plus, li vendères paiera de cascun drap et de cascune saie 12 d., et de le couvreture 6 d., mais que il soient vendu entir et non autrement. Et seront li drap de Mauboege et de Valenchiènes et li burel, pour tant que chil drap soient fait en le ville d'Arras, compté pour couvretures," *ibid.*, p. 139. "C'est assavoir que, puis ores en avant, toutes manières de gens, quel que il soient, porront faire en le ville d'Arras toutes manières de draps, si comme draps de Maubeuge, draps de Valenciennes et tous autres draps que on fait es autres villes" (1337), *ibid.*, p. 214.

² *Ibid.*, p. 223 f.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 203, 205, 218.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 228 ff.

⁵ "Que en le ville d'Arras, n'ara que 13 hommes de le Vintaine; si en seront li 8 bourgeois et li 5 drappiers, et ne sera nulz comptéz pour drappiers, s'il ne fait ou fait faire drapperie; et sur celui point, aucun pour drappier aient esté fait et nommé de le Vintaine, qui ne faisoient mie ne faisoient faire drapperie d'Arras, mais faisoient ou faire faisoient sayettes ou se merloient d'autre drapperie que de *celly que on nomme draps d'Arras*," *ibid.*, p. 225 f.

⁶ "De requief, est ordené et accordé, pour oster toutes fraudes, que puis ores en avant on ne puist faire *drap d'Arras*, en le ville d'Arras, de pelis, autres draps que bishairons tant seulement," *ibid.*, p. 234.

⁷ "Que li drap ainsy fait que dit est soient ploïés et ordonéz de ploy, faudéz, tondus et retréz, comme on le dist, *au ploy d'Arras*," *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 325.

Next we shall ascertain what the Arras cloth was supposed to be in the 14. and 15. centuries, when its provenience from Arras was not doubted. Although mentioned in Breslau as early as 1360,¹ we get the best account of it from a franchise given by Bogislav of Pomerania to East European merchants in 1390, from which it is obvious that it was a light woolen stuff, just like the *arrazo* of 1190 in Genoa. Among Flemish wares are mentioned Brabant cloths of which 20 pieces make a load, whereas it takes 5 bales of 12 pieces each of *arrasch* to make a load.² A Munich ordinance of 1370 specifically refers to *arras* as light-weight cloth,³ and from Ott Ruland's *Handlungsbuch*⁴ we learn that in the middle of the 15. century it was exported from Tournay and dyed in all kinds of color. Much earlier, in 1393, we hear of colored *arras* used for lance streamers,⁵ and similar streamers were used in Italy under the name of "banderia de *arassa*."⁶ In Lower Germany *arras* cloth, frequently glossed by "dunne wat," light cloth, was known as *arrasch*, *arras*, *arres*, *arresch*, *arsch*, *ardesch*,⁷ and in Upper Germany

¹ "Harras noch Berwer noch kein wullin gewant," K. Höhlbaum, *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. III, p. 277.

² "Van 1 theer lakene, 20 lakene gherekent vor 1 theer, yd Vlamische, Brabandesche edder welkerhande lakene yd zyn, vor dat theer 4s. Sund. tū tollen. *Arrasch*, 5 balen vor 1 theer gherekent, vor islike bale 12 *arrasch*, vor islik theer 4s. Sund," *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 449. The same is repeated in a franchise of the city of Stralsund, *ibid.*, p. 452, and in a franchise of King Ladislaus of Poland to Western merchants we read: "Von czwenczig tuchin gewandis, welchirley farbe adir achtunge dy sint, 3h, von sechzig *harras* 3h," *ibid.*, p. 458.

³ "*Arreis* und allez dunnes gewant," Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I, col. 121.

⁴ "Item das ich Ott Ruland mit dem Kaspar von Dorneck (Tournay) gerett hab umb ain hundert *arras*. ich hab aber kain kauff mit im gemacht, und die farb sol sein 35 grin und 35 bron und 15 rott und 15 liechtblaw und kornblaw und schwartz," Stuttgart 1843, p. 20.

⁵ "9 gr. umme rothen und wisen *arras* zu den venichen an dy glevenyen," *Ausgaben der Stadt Görlitz zu der Heerfahrt nach Priebus*, in R. Jecht, *Codex diplomaticus Lusatie Superioris, III bis 1419*, Görlitz 1905-1910, p. 232.

⁶ Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, vol. XVI, col. 583, (a. 1388).

⁷ Schiller and Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*.

are also recorded the forms *arrasz*, *arraîs*, *arreîs*, *arris*, *arrisz*, *arresze*, *harras*, *harres*, *harris*.¹

An Italian source² gives us precise information as to the manner of its manufacture. We learn from this that it was made of coarse wool loosely woven so as to give it more body.³ As time went on, the cloth deteriorated more and more, and became coarser.⁴ The etymology given by Muratori and repeated in all Italian dictionaries for *rascia*,⁵ as this cloth is later called, from *Rascia*, Serbia, from which country it was exported, is as absurd as the derivation of *arrazo* from Arras. The form and meaning for this word in the Slavic languages proves conclusively that we are dealing here with our old *arras* cloth. Slovenian⁶ has "*áras*, a hairy stuff, a woman's frock made from it, *áraz* a light woolen textile, *rās* a hairy stuff, a coarse domestic cloth from sheep's wool, *rāš* arras, a stuff made of wool and flax, a coarse woman's frock made from it;" Serbian⁷—" *raša* a thin cloth in four threads, much in use in Ragusa, chiefly used by peasants for trowsers;" Polish⁸—" *haras*, *rasa*, *rasza* a kind of thin woolen cloth;" Cech⁹—" *haras* light woolen cloth, *haraska* a certain kind of fine garment for either a man or woman." It is this lightness which recommended the cloth in Italy for uses to which crêpe is put nowadays, hence, the secondary meaning for it, "*rasce* white

¹ Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, sub *rasch*.

² In Tommaseo's *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, sub *rascia*.

³ "Non sarà più una stamigna ma una *rascia*, se la trama è di lana cardata e filata floscia al filatojo grande per dare più corpo al drappo."

⁴ "Le *rascie* sono spesso peggiori che non solevano esser li perpignani," *ibid.*

⁵ "Chlamydes vero sive de *rascia*, sive de panno, sive de feltro . . . pilei, sive de lana, sive de palea, non sint, ut saeculares utuntur, in turbinem elati, aut acuti, aut etiam serico ornati, sed depressi, plani, ac simplici *rascia* cooperti, si fuerint cooperiendi," *Declarationes S. Justinæ ad cap. 55 Regulæ S. Benedicti*, in Ducange, sub *rascia*.

⁶ M. Pleteršnik, *Slovensko-nemški slovar*.

⁷ Karadschitsch, *Lexicon serbico-germanico-latinum*.

⁸ J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich*, Kraków 1900.

⁹ J. Gebauer, *Slovník staročeský*, Praha 1903.

or black cloth attached to the church portal during services for the defunct." This word is also preserved in the forms Span. *raja*, Port. *raxa* "a kind of coarse stuff." But at an earlier time, in 1330, a silk rash is mentioned in Venice, *seda raçe*,¹ which, however, existed by the side of a coarser woolen rash, for in 1360 the Minorite Brothers are mentioned as wearing *rasse*,² and they certainly did not wear silk.

If, then, the city of Arras is to be responsible for the manufacture of *Arras cloth*, there is nothing in this it can particularly boast of. There is so far only the positive evidence that the material was in every way inferior to other kinds of woolen textiles. All over Europe it was from the twelfth century on popularly connected with the city of Arras, and there can be no doubt as to its having been manufactured there to some extent. But we are yet very far from being able to assert that this cloth originated in that city, and we are still farther from connecting the artistic Arras tapestry with either this cloth or with the city of Arras. The connecting link between the two varieties of cloth lies in the fact that "*Arras*" as a commercial term does not refer to any particular stuff, but to the manner of its weaving, as is correctly stated in the Italian source for *rascia*. The loose texture, with interstices, smaller or greater, according to the material used, is what is meant by this word, hence we may have not only *woolen and silk arras*, but also *gold and silver arras*, such as was manufactured, for example, at Nuremberg.³

¹ G. M. Thomas, *Capitular des deutschen Hauses in Venedig*, Berlin 1874, p. 37.

² "*Rasse zoe panni che porta li frati minori e simile cose de queste*," *ibid.*, p. 83.

³ "Einige . . . handeln mit *Rasch*, der, auf mannigfaltige Art façonirt, aus ächtem und unächtem Gold= und Silberdrathe hier verfertigt und zu Kränzen, etc., gebraucht wird," J. F. Roth, *Geschichte des nürnbergischen Handels*, Leipzig 1801, III. Theil, p. 172 f.

This cloth was admirably suited for hangings and for embroidering, hence it was frequently employed for such purposes. In a tariff list of goods sold in Paris at the end of the 13. century¹ there is a long list of cities from which cloth was for sale at Paris. As usual, cloth from Arras is among the less expensive materials. While cloth from Douai is worth 3s., from Brussels, Louvain, Malines, Ypres, etc., 2s., Arras cloth, with that from Châlons, is listed at only 18d. and niellez d'Arras at 6d., that is, on a par with dyed burels. There is here a large number of stuffs rated even lower than Arras cloth, but as we find among them Maubeuge cloth, which, as we saw before, was considered of low quality even at Arras, we must conclude that these were not superior to Maubeuge, classed at Arras as "couvretures." At the same time, silk goods and similar articles used for embroidery are given under a separate heading, as "mercerie," and here *drap de l'arest* is quoted at 2d., or, with the exception of Montpellier cloth, of German and Rouen touelle, of buckram and fustian, the very lowest in a list in which gold cloth of Venice is given at 6d. and *drap de Turquie* at 2s. This *arest* is frequently mentioned in the Inventories of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, and we shall analyze such references in the Inventory of the year 1245.² Under the heading of more precious silk copes are mentioned velvet and silk copes, embroidered with various figures, generally edged with orphrey or tassels and set with costly stones.³ Then there follows a caption of less costly copes (*de capis minus preciosis*), where similar garments, less richly adorned with gems, are mentioned.⁴

¹ *Revue archéologique*, Paris 1852, vol. IX, p. 213 ff.

² *Archæologia*, London, vol. L, pp. 439-524.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 475 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 478 ff.

Among these we find three copes of cloth of *arista*,¹ and we have also a tunic and dalmatic of silk *arras* cloth.² *Aresta* cloth in great quantity, apparently not yet cut for any special purpose, is mentioned under the heading *De Baudekinis et Pannis Sericis*.³ These are generally of red color and are embroidered with animals or plants. Such stuffs were also used for cushions or hangings, as they are given under the heading *De culcitris et Pannis pendentibus in choro*.⁴ As some of this cloth is mentioned as *pannus de aresta* and other as *pannus sericus de aresta*, it is likely that the first refers to woolen *arras*. We have ample evidence that tapestries were made on a body of cloth and canvas, as well as silk. Thus, in an Inventory of the year 1402⁵ we have albs of Reynys cloth, canvas, and linen in great quantity, and in another Inventory of 1459⁶ we find under the caption *Clothis of Arras and of Tapstre warke* not only "clothe, tester, banker, seler, cover of *arras*," but also "hallyng of blewe worstet;" and in the previously mentioned Inventory of 1402 there are cushions made of worsted checked blue and white,⁷ while other cushions are of silk stuff, variously embroidered. This *aresta* cloth is frequently mentioned in English annals. The earliest reference to it is from the year 1232.⁸ It was not of great value⁹

¹ "Capa de Waleden' de panno de *Arista* rubeo cum aviculis albis. Item duae capae de panno de *Arista*, quarum una facta fuit de panno, quam dedit Eustachius episcopus; alia de panno episcopi Rogeri, cum trifoliis," *ibid.*, p. 480.

² "Tunica et dalmatica de panno serico de *arest*' cum avibus et pomulis croceis pinalibus, quae factae fuerunt de duobus pannis quos rex dedit," *ibid.*, p. 486.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 493 f.

⁴ "Duo panni serici de *aresta* veteres limbati albo et nigro quos dedit Rex Johannes. Duo panni serici de *aresta* veteres nigri cum griffonibus, quos dedit G. Foliot, episcopus," *ibid.*, p. 495.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 507 ff.

⁶ J. Gairdner, *The Paston Letters*, London 1872, vol. I, p. 479 f.

⁷ "Quissini de Worstede de blavio et albo scaccato," *op. cit.*, p. 516.

⁸ *Close Rolls 16 Hen. III*, p. 71.

⁹ "Pannos de *Aresta* de mediocri pretio," *ibid.*, 18 Hen. III, p. 381.

and was often used for covering the altar.¹ In 1348 cloth of Arras of Dykesmouth is mentioned,² a significant fact, showing that even during the period of the most active manufacture of this cloth at the city of Arras, other cities and countries produced it. In 1411 we hear of "banquers de *arays*,"³ and again in the beginning of the 16. century of cloth of the work of *arays* to be hung near an altar,⁴ and in England in 1413 no *arres* was to be sold to the Genoese.⁵

Thus, long before the city of Arras was supposed to have introduced Arras tapestry, and away into the sixteenth century, *arras*, *aresta*, etc., of silk or of wool, in either case a cheap product, was the material on which the embroidery was cast. Its lightness recommended it for universal wear, even among the humblest, and several varieties, single, double,⁶ crown *rash*, were at an early time evolved, to serve special purposes. In its embroidered form it was used in a large number of ways, as wall tapestry, as curtains and hangings, and as vestments for the clergy. We can now turn to the chief point of our inquiry, the antiquity of this material and the origin of the word.

In a gift to a Galician monastery in 934 we find mentioned "*panno tiraz*,"⁷ which is not found again

¹ "Postea anno Dom. 1256 optulit dominus rex unum baldekinum magno altari, et unum de *arista* ad cooperiendum altare [Sancti] Oswini, ubi scilicet cantatur missa matu[tinalis]; et unum pannum de *arista* altari Sancti []," Matthaei Parisiensis *Chronica majora*, London 1882, vol. VI, p. 391 f. Other mention in *Patent Rolls 47 Hen. III*, pp. 283 and 292.

² *Close Rolls 22 Ed. III*, p. 470.

³ *Surtees Society*, vol. VI, p. CLV.

⁴ "Pannus operis le *arays*, ad pendendum pone altare nuper regis Henrici sexti," *ibid.*, vol. XXXV, p. 227.

⁵ "Qe voz ditz Marchauntz ne venderont, ne vendre ferront, deins v're Roialme d'Engleterre aucuns maners *darres*, Bñs, marchaundisez a les Janueys," *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. IV, p. 14.

⁶ "Item de una petia de Aras *Topel* bonos quator grossos; Item de una petia de Aras *simplici* grossos duos bonos" (a. 1436), G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, vol. X, 8, p. 666. Out of this *Toppelharras* has developed German *Tollrasch*, for which J. Stosch (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, vol. XI, p. 1) gives an incorrect explanation.

⁷ *España Sagrada*, vol. XL, p. 400.

until the end of the 11. century.¹ This is the Arabic طرز *tiraz*, which Dozy has shown by a large number of references to mean either a brocade or brocade border.² We get a far better account of what *tiraz* was from Ibn-Khaldun's account,³ which, as it is of great importance for our purpose, I shall give in full: "It is one of the customs of kings and sultans and one of the usages of sovereign dynasties to place the names of the princes or certain special signs adopted by them in the material of the garments intended for their use and made of silk or brocade. In forming the tissue itself of these stuffs they introduce the forms of the letters of which these names are composed both into the woof and the warp, either with gold thread or with a thread of a different color than the background of the stuff. This is done by the cleverness of the workers who know in advance where it is necessary to introduce these threads in the weaving of the cloth. Thus the royal garments are furnished with a border bearing such an inscription. It is a kind of decoration, either for the sultan or for persons of less elevated rank, who wear these garments, and also for those to whom the sultan presents them, in order to honor them, or to put them in charge of some office at court. Before Islamism, the Persian kings used to have put on the stuffs of their garments their own portraits or some figures appropriate for this use; but the Mussulman princes substituted therefor their names, adding other words considered of good omen, or formulae of praise

¹ "Dalmatica de ozoli, et alia tiraze" (998), *ibid.*, p. 409; "Damadigas duas, una deaurada et alia tiraz" (1042), *ibid.*, vol. XXXVI, p. XLIII; "Dalmaticam de tiraz" (1073), *ibid.*, p. LXI; "Saia fazanzal cum sua vatanna tiraz" (953), *Portugaliae monumenta historica, Diplomata et chartae*, vol. I, p. 39; "Panno tiraze" (960), *ibid.*, p. 51; "Tiraze verde" (1008), *ibid.*, p. 124.

² *Dictionnaire des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, p. 355 ff.

³ S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris 1826, vol. II, p. 287 ff.

and benediction. Under the Ommiads and Abassids this was considered to be one of the most important and interesting matters. The buildings where these stuffs were woven were within the palaces of the khalifs, and for this reason they were called *palaces of the tiraz*. The officer in charge of the workshops was called *superintendent of the tiraz*." The Spanish *tiraz* is obviously identical with the Arabic *tiraz*, and the reference to dalmatics of gold work and of *tiraz* is parallel to that of tunics of gold work and of *aresta* mentioned before. The strange thing is that neither before the 10. nor after the 11. century is there anywhere any reference to this *tiraz* in Spanish sources. This splendid manufacture of the Magreb cannot possibly have disappeared without leaving any trace. We must, therefore, assume that the *tiraz* has disappeared from view only through some etymological transformation. This, indeed, can be positively proved.

In OFrench *dossel*, *dociel*, *doxal*, etc., means "a curtain, hanging, tapestry," and this has without any suspicion been derived from Lat. *dorsale*, and this from *dorsum* "back," with the glib explanation that it was so named from having been a garment over the back of the priest. But the forms *drecelet*, *dercelet*, etc., also found for it do not tend to strengthen such a derivation, and, besides, it would be above all necessary to prove that this *dorsale* was not merely a coat worn over the back—what coat is not worn over the back?—but a particular cloak, so exclusively pinned to the back as to derive its name from this. No such proof can be adduced. The word *dorsale* and its variants do not occur before the tenth century.¹ In a

¹ In a Lombard document of the year 824 there is a reference to a "*witta da dorsum*" (*Codex diplom. Langob.*, col. 191), but that only seems to mean "a cloth for my back, my body," for in a contemporaneous testament, of the year 831, occurs the sentence, "*Volo eni et iuveo ut pannos de dorsum meum quantos inbenerint detur pro animam meam*" (*Tabularium casinense*, vol. I, p. 8), which refers only to personal clothes.

manuscript of the 10. century¹ we find the earliest reference to it in an inventory of a church treasure, but the form of the word, "*torsalia de pallio*," shows that no relation to *dorsum* is suspected. In an Inventory of the Cathedral of Clermont Ferrand, of the end of the 10. century,² we have a *dossal*, and this form is frequently recorded elsewhere.³ In the *Historia translationis reliquiarum SS. Claudii, Lupercii et Victorici*⁴ there is a reference to a *dorsuale* of the year 995, which is important, not on account of the word, but because it is distinctly mentioned as of Arabic workmanship and so is at once seen to be identical with the *tiraz*. In Ekehard, who wrote in the beginning of the 11. century, the "*torsalia de pallio*" above mentioned is rendered by *dorsi pallium* and *pallium dorsile*.⁵ Otte's statement⁶ that the *dorsalia* were tapestries hung over the last row of seats in the church, hence their name of back cloths, is not applicable here, where the reference is to hangings pure and simple, and even as late as the 12. century *dorsalia* were understood to be wall hangings.⁷

Previous to the end of the 10. century the universal word for such hangings or for the material from which such hangings were made was *pallium*, a word which

¹ O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Wolfenbüttel 1884, vol. I, p. 333.

² *Revue archéologique* 1853 (vol. X), p. 174.

³ Ducange, sub *dorsale*.

⁴ "Cujus ut in posterum memineretur miraculi et pietatis, *dorsuale* caeruleum argento contextum, et Arabico opere fabricatum, ipsi coenobio liberaliter concessit. Quod peregrinis, ad sepulchrum SS. Martyrum futuris seculis causa voti convenientibus, illico demonstratur," Bollandi, *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. XIII, p. 291.

⁵ "Parat ilico basilicam et aram; parat tapetiis et *pallio dorsili* caminatam," G. Meyer von Knorau, Ekkeharti (IV) *Casus sancti Galli*, St. Gallen 1877, cap. 18, p. 71; "ut in *dorsi pallio* et cortina lecti sui," *ibid.*, cap. 90, p. 329.

⁶ H. Otte, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstarchäologie*, Leipzig 1883, 5. Aufl., vol. I, p. 284.

⁷ "Ambitus ecclesiae ornatur velis, *dorsalibus*, tapetiis" (1165), *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, vol. XIII, p. 562.

dates from Rome. "The word *pallium* was in Rome applied not only to any kind of mantle, but also to any kind of rectangular piece of textile fabric, whether of garment, veil or coverlet. . . . It made its appearance in the third century before Christ, but for a long time shared the discredit of those who were the first to introduce it, of philosophers, actors, foreign pedagogues, of that crowd to which the contemptuous term of "Graeci palliati" was applied. . . . It did not definitely gain right of citizenship until the first century of our era, when Tiberius adopted it officially in preference to the toga. It then became the garment par excellence in the whole Roman world."¹ The *palla* in every way corresponded to the *pallium*, except that it was more especially the mantle of the Roman women. *Pallium* is unquestionably a derivative from *palla*, and it is this latter that I shall try to identify as to its form, material and origin. In Sanskrit there are a number of similar words for which no successful etymology has been suggested. "*Paṭa*, *paṭas*, woven cloth, cloth, a piece of cloth, a garment, raiment; fine cloth; a veil or screen; a piece of cloth or tablet or plate on which anything may be written or painted. *Paṭṭ* cloth, a particular sort of cloth, coarse thick cloth, canvas; the curtain of a stage; the screen of cloth surrounding a tent, an outer tent; a coloured or chintz garment. *Paṭaka* cotton cloth. (*Paṭala* a roof, thatch; a cover, covering, veil, etc.) *Paṭṭa* a slab, tablet for painting, plate of metal for inscription or engraving royal edicts; cloth, coloured cloth, fine cloth, woven silk; a strip, a bandage, ligature, swath, cloth bound around a sore, etc.; a frontlet, fillet or cloth worn round the head, turban; a coloured silk turban; a diadem; an upper or outer garment. *Paṭṭaka* a plate of metal for inscription or engraving royal edicts; a cloth, bandage.

¹ G. Leroux, in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, sub *pallium*.

Paṭṭikā a tablet, plate; a document; a bandage, frontlet ribbon, a piece of cloth; a piece of wove silk; cloth used for a turban.”¹ This word has been preserved in Pali and in many of the modern Indian languages, but in the latter *pala*, *palla* is also common, thus Singhalese *pala* “cotton cloth,” Hindustani *pullā* “a sheet (generally applied to chintz or shawl).” It has found its way into Persian *palas* “a piece of coarse canvas,” which again has entered into a large number of languages, Hindustani *palās* “very coarse cloth, canvas,” Turkish *palas* “common garment, rags,” Çagatay Tatar *palas* “small rug.” It does not take much imagination to observe that the underlying idea in all these words, that is, the original conception from which they have evolved, is, as in the Lat. *palla*, “a rectangular piece of textile fabric, whether of garment, veil or coverlet.” Of the identity with Lat. *palla* there can, consequently, not be the slightest doubt. It is inconceivable that the Sanskrit word should be derived from the Latin, and it is equally doubtful that the Latin should have derived it from the Sanskrit. We must look to China for the exportation of piece goods, for it is obvious that it is the *uncut* piece that served for garment, veil or coverlet.

Pliny distinctly states that Chinese garments were introduced into Rome and that an enormous sum was yearly extracted from Rome by the Seres,² and it has been shown conclusively that at least from the first century of our era Chinese silk products were regularly found in Greek and Roman markets.³ There can be no doubt but that Chinese piece goods found their way to Rome at a much earlier time, either by a direct overland route or over India and through the Erythrean

¹ M. Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

² *Naturalis historia*, XII. 2, 84; XXXIV. 145.

³ Maurice Besnier, in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, sub *Sericum*.

Sea to Egyptian ports. In any case, Lat. *palla*, Sans. *paṭṭa* are at once explained from Chinese *p'i lo*, of which the old pronunciation, to judge from the Cantonese *p'at lo*, was *pat la*, and this literally means "a piece of silk." *Pat* is an ideogram composed of "conceal" and "eight," because "a piece of silk of forty feet was folded eight times," and *la* "a kind of fabric woven like a net or grenadine in knots, with interstices like gauze, openworked, lace like.' In English parlance *p'i lo* is called "a piece of law." *Pat la* would naturally, on account of the unusual combination *tl*, become *paṭṭa* in Sanskrit, *palla* in Latin and the Indian languages. It is, then, to be assumed that the *paṭṭa*, *palla* was originally nothing but an undivided piece of silk stuff, as imported by Chinese merchants.

The Latin *pallium* was at an early age adopted into the Greek language, and the identity of *palla* and *pallium* is established by Greek πάλλιον which is frequently mentioned in Egyptian papyri as part of a woman's dowry.¹ Hesychius² identifies the πάλλιον with the τριβώνιον and περιβόλαιον, obviously considering it as a loose mantle thrown about the person. In Ducange παλλιον is frequently recorded as a monastic mantle, for example, in a MS. life of St. Hilarion;³ but we also find σιρκὰ παλλία "silken mantles," and the Rabbinical *pilyon*, several times given in Talmudical literature as a headdress, is by Hillel in the twelfth century correctly explained as a turban

¹ *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. III, p. 85, παλλιον (1. cent.), p. 22, πάλλια ἐν χρώμασι (149 A. D.), vol. I, p. 36, πάλλιον (114 A. D.); *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*, vol. I, pp. 186, 187; *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*, Part III, p. 209 (127 A. D.); *The Tebtunis papyri*, Part II, p. 114 (2. cent.), p. 144 (131 A. D.), p. 293 (3. cent.). There is also a compound σουβρικοπάλλιον in H. van Herwerden, *Lexicon Graecum supplementum et dialecticum*.

² Sub τριβώνιον.

³ "Παλλιον, στιχάριον τε καὶ κουκούλλιον τριχινον, ἃ δὴ τοῖς μοναχοῖς οὕτω σύνθητες ὀνομάζειν."

and derived from Greek *παλλίον*.¹ This again shows that the fundamental idea was an uncut piece of some light material, which is once more borne out by the Latin glosses,² where *pallium* is not only translated by *πάλλιον*, *πέπλος*, *ἔνδυμα*, *περιβόλαιον*, but also by *βῆλον* (=velum), while for *palla* stands *μίτρα*, *πέπλος*, *παραπέτασμα*. So, too, Tertullian describes the *pallium* as a quadrangular outer garment, held over the shoulder by a brooch,³ and the identical form was still in use in Carolingian times.⁴ This quadrangular shape led to the late Greek appellation *τετράγωνον*, which was still used in Byzantine times. During the Middle Ages the *pallium* was used as a veil, a hanging, an altar cloth, a pontifical garment. It was occasionally made of some cheaper material, but by far more frequently it was understood to be of silk or some other costly material. It at an early date became naturalized in all the European languages. In OHGerman *phellol*, from *palliolum*, is glossed by "pallium, coccum, purpura," so that the predominating color of the material has survived over the name of the mantle itself, even as has happened with *escarlat* and other similar materials. In Icelandic *pell*, which is very often mentioned in church inventories, has preserved the meaning of costly stuff, possibly velvet, altar cloth. In Anglo-Saxon *paell*, *pell* is a pall, covering, cloak, costly robe, purple, purple garment, and the same meanings are given to OFr. *paile*, *palie*, *palle*, etc.

¹ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. II, p. 577.

The derivation in J. Levy's *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* from *πίλος* and explained as a felt hat, is obviously a mistake.

² G. Goetz, *Thesaurus glossarum emendatorum*.

³ "*Palli* extrinsecus habitus, et ipse quadrangulus, ab utroque laterum regestus, et cervicibus circumstrictus, in fibulae morsu humeris acquiescebat," *Liber de pallio*, cap. I.

⁴ "Ultimum habitus eorum erat *pallium* canum -vel saphirinum quadrangulum duplex, sic formatum, ut cum imponeretur humeris, ante et retro pedes tangeret, de lateribus vero vix genua contegeret," *Monachi Sangallensis Gesta Karoli*, lib. I, cap. 36, in *MGH., Scrip.*, vol. II.

If, then, *pallium* has with remarkable persistency survived from the beginning of the Christian era as a denomination of a costly cloth, used as a covering or hanging, what has in the tenth century led to the introduction of *dorsale* for similar purposes, at a time when Arab. *tiraz*, which originally had the same meaning, began to disappear? The *pallium* was frequently mentioned as a *pallium greciscum*,¹ since it had its origin in Byzantium, in distinction from the *pallium spaniscum*, by which only the *tiraz* could be meant. It is this *pallio tirazi* or *tirazi pallio* that by popular etymology produced Ekehard's *dorsi pallio*. This popular conception of a covering for the back was aided by the older common name for altar cloth, *frontale*. Arab. *tiraz*, which has puzzled Arabic scholars, goes back to Greek τὸ ῥάσον, a coarse, cheap product. In the Gospel of Nicodemus, Christ at the crucifixion is bereft of his clothes by the soldiers and wrapped in a purple *rason*.² So, too, Symeon Magister tells of the disgrace of a man who was clad in a *rason*

¹ "Palla linea grecisca" (9. cent.), *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins*, vol. IV, p. 250; "pallium greco, alios duos in Grecia factos" (915); Dévic et Vaissete, *Histoire du Languedoc*, vol. V, col. 135; "greteschas amictus cum auro . . capas greteschas, curcibaldos greteschos . . pallios greteschos" (957), J. Villanueva, *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, vol. VI, p. 273 f.; "pallia duo de caleri de Constantinopoli et quatuor spenesca vetusta" (993), M. Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche . . di Amalfi*, Salerno 1876, vol. I, p. 151; "amictum unum optimum de seta plumatu greciscu . . duo bona pallia. octo de constantinopolim . . pallium unum. spaniscum quatuor" (1007), *ibid.*, p. 222; "kasullas creciscas" (998), *España sagrada*, vol. XL, p. 409; "casulla grecisca cum sua tunica" (1002), *ibid.*, vol. XXXVI, p. XIV; "alfagara grecisca" (1029), *ibid.*, p. XXXV; "alhagara una grecisca; frontales duos, uno grecisco et uno leztori; casullas duas, una grecisca et una erage . . almuzala una grecisca" (1042), *ibid.*, p. XLIII; "mantos duos auri frissos, alio alguexi auro texto, cum alio gricisco in dimisso cardeno" (1063), *ibid.*, p. CLXXXIX; "dalmatica grecisca" (1073), *ibid.*, p. LXI; "duas flectas spaniscas . . dua facciolas gricisca" (1021), B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad neapolitani ducatus pertinentia*, Neapoli 1885, vol. II, pt. I, p. 252.

² "Ἐπειτα ἐξέδυσαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ διμερίσαντο ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, αὐτῷ δὲ ἐνέδυσαν ῥάσον κόκκινον", *Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha* (Acta Pilati B. X. 3), Lipsiae 1876, p. 305.

and taken through the city on an ass.¹ As it was worn by novices, *ῥασοφόρος* came to mean "a novice," and *ῥασοφορεῖν* "to enter the novitiate." The rough, hairy *rason* was also worn by soldiers,² and in the ninth century the cloth of *rason*, dyed purple, was used for fine saddle cloths.³ *Rason* sail cloth in large quantity was purchased during the Cretan expedition to be used on boats of the Russians, that is, Norsemen, who aided the Greeks during the engagements.⁴ This *rason* was known to the Greek world long before the fourth century, for in the Coptic Bible it is already found in a Coptic form as *eršōn* or *ršōn* to translate the words *περιβολή, ἱμάτιον, θέριστρον* of the Greek text, which correspond to the Latin "vestis ampla, pallium, velum," and thus indicate that in the fourth century *rason* meant a light, uncut, veil-like, summer garment. It is interesting to notice here that the new stuff, obviously not of Egyptian origin, has taken the place of the native Coptic *šentō*, from Egyptian *šentī-t*, and this from Egyptian *šent* "to weave," which was not only the name for the Egyptian apron and cloak, but in the form *σινδων*, Lat. *sindon*, was known in the Graeco-Roman world as a cloth of Egyptian manufacture. But *šentō* did not entirely disappear. It was still used in those passages where the Vulgate uses *sindon*, otherwise in the sense of "linen cloth, breastcloth," and as *šentōli* in the sense of "coarse linen," obviously because at that time and even later *ršōn* was of better

¹ "Μετὰ ῥάσου καὶ θνου ἐθριάμβευσαν καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Δαλμάτων καταδίκη ἔγκλειστον πεποῖηκασιν", *Theophanes Continuatus*, Bonnae 1838, p. 720.

² Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *Tactica*, and Mauricius, quoted by Ducange.

³ "Δέον δὲ ἀγοράζειν ῥασικά ἀμάλια καὶ βάπτειν ἀληθινὰ, καὶ ποιεῖν σαγίσματα καὶ βορκάδια ρν'· καὶ τὰ μὲν ρ' λόγῳ τῶν παρασυρομένων ἱππαρίων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως· τὰ δὲ λ' λόγῳ τῶν βασιλικῶν σελλαρίων, καὶ τὰ κ' λόγῳ τῶν διὰ ξεναλίων διδομένων ἱππαρίων", *Const. Porph., De cerimoniis*, Bonnae 1829, vol. I, p. 462.

⁴ "Ἐδόθη ὑπὲρ ἀγορᾶς τῶν πανίων τῶν ῥασιακῶν λόγῳ ποιήσεως ἀρμένων ἐνά ἀνὰ πηχῶν λ' τῶν θ' καραβίων τῶν Ῥῶς, καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρμένων β' ἀνὰ πηχῶν κη' τῶν β' μονερίων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων σὺν τῶν δοθέντων πανίων ῥασικῶν κατὰ περίσσειαν τοὺς αὐτοὺς Ῥῶς", *ibid.*, p. 674.

quality than the native product, and still used for such purposes as the Roman poets connected with the use of the *toga rasa*.

The most important evidence of the uses to which this Greek *rason* was put is to be found in Russia, where not only the etymological forms of the words will throw a light on a large mass of words in the West which refer to the same cloth, but where the very late preservation of early Byzantine hair ornaments will make it possible to reconstruct an important industry of the Middle Ages, for which no other monuments exist than what is preserved in literary references. "A necessary part of the *kika* (diadem) were the *ryasas*, long strips of pearls alternating with costly stones and gold beads of various form and manufacture. The strips were double, triple, fourfold, etc., hence the *ryasas* were called triple, quadruple, etc. The strips were fixed at the top into golden clamps with rings by means of which the *ryasas* were attached to both sides of the *kika*, above the temples, and so fell over the shoulders or on the breast. At times, instead of beads, there were between the pearls placed little clamps with precious stones, or little eagles and other gold figures."¹ In this headdress of the seventeenth century the old Byzantine custom is preserved down to the use of the eagle for adornment. Porphyrogenitus speaks of eagle garments² and the frequent reference to "*vela serica aquilata*" shows conclusively that the Byzantine custom of the ninth century was universal, at least in the early Middle Ages.

The chief interest to us is that, as the name indicates, strips of *rason* were used for weaving into them gems and gold beads, a custom which is recorded by Kosmas

¹ I. Zabyelin, *Domashni byt russkago naroda v XVI. i XVII. st.*, Moskva 1901, vol. II, p. 491.

² *L. c.*, p. 470, to which Reiske (in vol. II, p. 545 ff.) gives a long and interesting discussion.

Indikopleustes in the sixth century. Unfortunately the printed Greek text differs in the particular passage from the text preserved in the Slavic redaction, so that it is not possible to ascertain what words were then used as an equivalent of the Russian *ryasa*. Here we read: "To the edge of the garment were sewed *ryasas*, and among them, golden bells, and beneath them, like flowers, tresses (*tryesny*) of costly stones."¹ In a similar passage in Georgios Hamartolos *tresnas* takes the places of *ryasas*. "To the edge of the garment *tresnas* were sewed."² The identity of *tresna* and *ryasa* is attested by a large number of texts from the twelfth century on. *Tresna*, *tryesna*, *tryezna*, *tresn*, *teresna* has, in the singular, the meaning of "tassel, pendant, chain," in the plural, "border." So, too, *ryasa*, *ryasīn* means "border, ornament," from which develop the forms *ryasīn*, *ryesīnova* "eye-brow." The derivation of the latter from the first is proved beyond any doubt by the form *tryesna* for "eye-brow."³ The peculiar phenomenon of the identity of forms with and without initial *t* may be due to the derivation from either ῥάσσον, ῥάσσα or τὸ ῥάσσινον, τὰ ῥάσινα,⁴ but in all probability is derived from words in the west, as will be shown further on.

We can now approach the similar Romance group, which, being older, will tell us something of the manner in which the Byzantine embroidered cloth was originally produced. In a Chronicle of Piacenza we have, under the year 1388, an account of a fashion of wearing *terzas*

¹ I. Sreznevski, *Svyedyyeniya i zamyetki o maloizvvestnykh i neizvvestnykh pamyatnikakh*, Sanktpeterburg 1867, part XI, p. 9.

² I. Sreznevski, *Materialy dlya slovary drevne-russkago yazyka*, sub *okrilie*.

³ Obviously all the nasalised forms, which by Miklosich (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen*) are given under *rensa* belong here, and the Čech *řása*, a fold of a garment, once more points to "border" as the original meaning. Curiously enough, the Romance languages, as we shall soon see, have the same nasalised forms.

⁴ "Καὶ ῥάπτουσι αὐτὸν μετὰ ῥάμματος ῥασίνου", in Ducange.

or *terzollas*, of gold or silk, interwoven with pearls, braided into the hair, which was then giving way to a new mode of wearing the hair in a buckle.¹ The chronicler tries to explain the word etymologically as being derived from Latin *tres* or *ter*, because the ribbon consisted of 300 pearls arranged in three rows, but this is no explanation at all, for other, older forms do not bear out his assumption. Similar ribbons are called *trezebia*, *tressatorium*, *trezorium*, *dreçator*, *dreçeria*,² in French *tresseor*, *treçon*, *traceour*, etc.,³ and it is obvious from the references that neither the braiding nor the number of pearls have anything whatsoever to do with it.

¹ "Et etiam dictae Dominae portant in capitibus earum jocalia maximi valoris: Videlicet aliquae portant coronas de argento aureato, vel de auro puro cum perlis et lapidibus pretiosis valoris à Florenis LXX. auri usque in C. et aliquae portant *terzollas* de perlis grossis valoris Florenorum C. auri usque in CXXV. et aliquae portant sagiotas de perlis valoris Florenorum L. usque in C. Quae *terzollae* vocantur *terzollae*, quia ex CCC. perlis grossis sunt factae, et quia in tribus filzis sunt constructae et ordinatae. Et etiam dictae Dominae pro majori parte loco *terzarum* de auro vel de serico, quas portare solebant contextas seu *interzatas* in capillis capitis earum, nunc portant bugulos, qui sic nominantur, quos cooperiunt capillis capitis earum ligatis super dictos bugulos, cum astalonis sive chordibus sericis vel deauratis, vel cum astalonis sericis coopertis perlarum," Muratori, *Scriptores*, vol. XVI, col. 580.

² "Item quod nulla mulierum vel dominarum . . audeat portare in ornamento capitis perlas, velos aureos et argenteos, nec alia ornamenta, excepta *trezebia* vel *curdella* valoris unius marchae, et non ultra" (1342), *Monum. eccles. Aquilej*, cap. 90, col. 903; "in coronis, *tressatoriis* et aliis ornamentis perlarum, auri et argenti, in capitiis perlis, auro vel argento ornatis," *Tabul. Massil., Charta anni 1357*; "et tunc pluribus mulieribus incisi fuerunt digiti et treçiae per certos crudeles de Placentia, causa accipiendi anulos de digitis et in *trezoriis* de treçis ipsarum mulierum," *Chron. Placent. ad ann. 1314*, in Muratori, *Scriptores*, vol. XVI, col. 485. These quotations are from Ducange. "*Dreçatores* vero perlarum sint totaliter amoti et prohibiti . . et *dreçeriam* aliquam perlarum ultra quam valoris soldorum C sub dicta pena et predicta revocari non possit" (1299), M. Roberti, *Le magistrature giudiziarie veneziane*, Venezia 1911, vol. III, p. 55.

³ "*Treçons* a pelles (perles)" (1316); "*tressons* d'orfaverie, qui sont de rubiz d'Alixandre, d'esmeraudes et de perles" (1349); "*tressons* d'or de 80 chastons d'esmeraudes, et de rubiz d'Alixandre" (1352); "un *tressond* d'or ou y a CXLXXV perles assiz sur une bisette" (1372); "*treceors* gentiz et gresles de soie et d'or a menus perles," "riche *treçoer*," "*traçoours* a femme" (1349); "img *tresseurs* garni d'argent doré et de perles" (1392). These quotations are recorded in Godefroy, where the proper sources may be ascertained.

Before discussing the further fate of this group of words we must familiarize ourselves with the fate of the *rason* in the Roman Empire.

Pliny tells in his *Naturalis historia*¹ that the *toga rasa* was introduced in the time of Augustus. No indication is given as to the meaning of *rasa*, but its being coupled with Phrygian, that is, embroidered garments, is significant. The classical scholars please themselves to derive *rasa* from *rasus* "sheared," but as we have no evidence of the shearing of cloth until late in the Middle Ages, this etymology is useless. On the other hand, Juvenal speaks of an effeminate man wearing a *rasa*,² having obviously in mind a light fabric fit only for women, and this is borne out by Martial, who speaks of *rasa* as a summer-garment.³ We have here, then, the same use of *rasa* as in early Byzantine *rason*, Coptic *ršōn*, to designate a cloth with interstices, such as is especially adapted for summer use. The accidental similarity of this *rasa* with the adjective from *radere* "to scrape" has led to a certain confusion, even in the time of Augustus, but it is not difficult to separate the two in any particular case. The term *rasa*, giving rise to an adjective *rasilis*, was new to the reign of Augustus, in the sense of "fretwork," and was used by Ovid twice, once in reference to a fretwork fibula, and again for woven baskets.⁴ Although occasionally used, even as late as the fifth century, in this form,⁵ Pliny felt the awkwardness of the association with *radere* and changed the term to *interrasilis*,⁶ which made a derivation from *interradere* plausible, since one could imagine the fret-

¹ "Togas *rasas* Phryxianasque divi Augusti novissimis temporibus coepisse scribit Fenestella," VIII. 195.

² "Caerulea indutus scutulata, aut galbana *rasa*," II. 97.

³ "Dona quod aestatis misi tibi mense Decembri, Si quereris, *rasam* tu mihi mitte togam," II. 85.

⁴ "*Rasilis* fibula," *Met.* VIII. 318; "*rasiles* calathi," *Heroid.* IX. 76.

⁵ Statius, *Theb.* VII. 658, Velleius II. 56.

⁶ "Coronas ex cinnamo *interrasili* auro inclusas primus omnium in templis Capitolii atque Pacis dicavit Vespasianus," XII. 94.

work produced by rubbing off the spots where the interstices were to be.¹ This *interrasilis* or *interrasa* was a technical term throughout the late Roman Empire and early Middle Ages for any kind of fretwork, more generally laid out in regular squares. Lactantius, commenting on *fibula rasilis* of Statius, tells us distinctly that the usual name was *interrasa*,² even as it had been used by Pliny and Paulinus Nolanus³ before him. Anastasius, writing in the ninth century, has a number of references to fretwork, named *interrasilis*,⁴ but there is one use of *interrasilis* in an anonymous scholiast to Ammianus⁵ which throws a light on a later development of this word. This author tells us that Theodoric used a stencil (*lamina interrasilis*) with which to sign his name, that is, that the *lamina interrasilis* was used for tracing words or figures.

We can now follow up the history of this word for "fretwork" in all its vicissitudes in western Europe. Vergil used the expression *lorica trilex* for a strong breastplate. It is not clear what he meant by *trilex*, whether it referred to a triple thread or wire, or to triple layers, but there can be no doubt in the case of the French *hauberc traslis*, which is extremely common in ancient poetry, that the reference is to the classical *lorica trilex*. However, the obscure *trilex* is substituted by the similar but totally different word *traslis*, which is a corruption of (*in*)*terrasilis*, as is clear, not only from

¹ "(Vasa argentea) repositoriis imponimus ad sustinenda opsonia, *interradimus* alia," XXXIII. 140.

² "Ad luxuriam retulit pulcritudinem fibulae; erat enim foraminibus multis exornata, quas vulgo *interrasa*s appellant."

³ "*Interraso* marmore vermiculatisque ad effigies rerum et animalium crustis," XXXV. 2; "ut de *interrasa* variatis cortice virgis insignita gregis sancti fetura probetur" (to Genesis XL. 37), *Carmina* XXVII. 254.

⁴ "Crucem anaglyfam *interrasilem* ex argento purissimo," Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, Paris 1892, vol. II, p. 13, and in Ducange, sub *interrasilis*.

⁵ "Laminam auream iussit (Theodericus) *interrasilem* fieri, quattuor litteras regis habentem, ut si subscribere voluisset, posita lamina super chartam, per eum penna duceretur, et subscriptio eius tantummodo videretur," in Forcellini, sub *interrasilis*.

the meaning "fretted" and its reference to any mesh-like structure, but from its constant use for "sack-cloth." In the oldest quotation, from the twelfth century, this *traslis* is understood to be from a Latin *trans-lis*,¹ which is soon further transformed to *translicium*, *traslicium*, *tralicium*, *transletum*,² giving rise to Ital. *traliccio*, with the same meaning; while under the influence of the Lat. *trichila*, *tricla* "vine arbor," this group produces Fr. *treillis*, Eng. *trellis*, in which the idea of "fretwork" has become united with that of a support for growing vines.

It is just as likely that Arab. *tiraz*, instead of being derived directly from Greek τὸ ῥάσον, was so obtained through the Romance languages, even as the Arabs may have been preceded by the Franks and Spaniards in the manufacture of embroidered borders. At least, the documentary evidence points in that direction. To ascertain this we shall first consult the Anglo-Saxon glosses. The *Epinal-Erfurt Glossaries*, supposedly of the eighth century, though possibly not earlier than the ninth, have the following glosses: "*lembum listan vel thres, oresta tres*" (corrected by an *h* above the line to *thres*). The *Corpus Glossary* contains a larger variety of such words: "*lesta borda, clauia borda, lembum listan, limbus dres, liste, lymbo dresi, oresta dres.*" All these Anglo-Saxon words are corruptions of Byzantine technical terms, as will appear from the scrutiny of the texts where they occur earliest.

In the *Liber pontificalis*³ we have mention of a mass of vestments, running into several hundred, which at the end of the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries were presented by the popes to various

¹ "Unam culcitram novam de *translis*" (1150), in Ducange.

² "Unum *traslicium* quasi nullius valoris" (1379), "unum coopertorium panni bruni . . unum *translicium*" (1380), "matelacium, culcitram, flas-satam, *transletum*" (1342), in Ducange.

³ L. Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, vol. II.

churches. These lists were composed not later than the end of the ninth century, and so are of extreme value for the determination of the industry of embroidered cloth for that period. Most of the vestments and altar cloths were of some colored material, having a cross or some figures embroidered in the middle, and the edge was generally of a different color and material, as a rule embroidered with gold threads or adorned with tassels. A typical description of such a piece would run like this: "*cortina alba olosirica rosata, habente in medio crucem de chrisoclabo et periclisin de fundato.*"¹ In this case we have a hanging of whole silk, apparently of a pink shade, with a cross of gold-thread in the middle, and a *periclisis* of a material, or color, called *fundatum*. It is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning of *periclisis*. Tertullian² used the word *catac ita* for some costly garment, and it is clear from the use which Fortunatus makes of *cataclyza* or *cataclista* in connection with *rasa*³ that in the sixth century a cloak was enhanced in value by having a *rasa* of the kind called *cataclyza* about it; and from his speaking of *cataclyzica fila* in connection with pearls and gems that are interwoven with it,⁴ it is quite clear that we are having here a kind of garment of which we hear two or three centuries later, when the Byzantine palla is bordered with a *rasa* of pearls and gems. Whatever the origin of the word may have been, it was clearly understood to be the Greek *κατάκλειστος* "shut

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1. Similar descriptions are "*veste habente storia Crucifixi et de Resurrectione domini nostri Iesu Christi, habente periclisin de chrisoclabo,*" p. 3, "*vestem albam olosiricam, habentem periclisin de fundato et in medio storiā Resurrectionis,*" p. 32, and so on.

² *De pallio*, cap. III.

³ "*Cycladis aut qualis cataclyzis effora rasis,*" *Vita S. Martini*, III. 467.

⁴ "*O Martine decens, lapidum velamine compte,
Quam nova palla tibi, cuius textura coruscans,
Trama topazos erat rutilans et stamen iaspis
Et tunicae insignes currunt pro vellere gemmae.
Quae manus artificis cataclyzica fila rotavit?*" *Ibid.*, IV. 321 ff.

in," that is, the garment was on all sides enclosed by an embroidered border. In the time of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus *περίχλειστος* became more common than *κατάχλειστος*, for he speaks of *χρυσοπερίχλειστα σαγία*, mantles bordered with gold.¹ Obviously the *periclisis* of our text is a noun formation from *περίχλειστα* and means "a border all around." This was certainly the conception of the word in the ninth century, for by the side of *periclisis*, for which, as the Greek form indicates, *periclista* was more common, we occasionally find in the texts such variations as *in circuitu lista*,² *in circuitu ornata cum lista*,³ *in giro lista*,⁴ *listam habentia per circuitum*,⁵ *listas habentia*,⁶ or simply *ornata in circuitu* or some such phrase.⁷ On one occasion we have even *in circuitu periclisin*,⁸ and by a scribal error *periclisis* is once repeated by *in circuitu lista*.⁹ *In circuitu lista* and *in periclisi* are, therefore, identical, and we have even the specific statement that the network of gems hanging down from a chalice and veils with lists of chrysoclavum were the Greek way of decoration, nay, that Greek letters in gold thread, obviously in the border, were part of the same treasure.¹⁰

¹ *De Cerimoniis*, I. 1.

² "Habentem *in circuitu listam* de chrisoclavo," p. 16, and similarly pp. 14, 30, 31, 79.

³ "*In circuitu ornata cum lista* de chrisoclavo," p. 134.

⁴ "*In giro lista* de fundato," pp. 116, 121.

⁵ "*Listas habentia per circuitum* de sirico albo sigillato," p. 121.

⁶ "*Listas habentia* de fundato," p. 121.

⁷ "*Ornata in circuitu blatti bizanteo*," pp. 4, 29, 30; "*ornata in circuitu de quadrapulo*," pp. 26, 27, 30; "*ornata in circuitu de fundato*," p. 27; "*ornata in giro de fundato*," p. 32.

⁸ "*In circuitu periclisin* de tyreo," p. 26.

⁹ "*Cum periclisin* de chrisoclavo, et *in circuitu listam* de chrisoclavo," p. 14.

¹⁰ "Huius temporibus Michahel, filius Theofli imperatoris, Constantinopolitane urbis imperator, ob amorem apostolorum misit ad beatum Petrum apostolum donum per manum Lazari monachi et picturiae artis nimie eruditum, genere vero Chazarus, id est evangelium de auro purissimo I cum diversis lapidibus pretiosis; calicem vero similiter de auro et lapidibus circumdatum; reticula pendente de gemmis albis pretiosis mire pulchritudinis decoratum, et vela II de olovero cum cruce de olovero et *lista similiter de chrisoclavo*, parva coopertoria ipsius calicis, sicut mos

But it is even possible to ascertain why *lista* should have broken away from the Greek *περίχλεια*, to form a separate word. It is obvious that the Arabic mode of embroidering the border was borrowed from Greece, down to the employment of gold letters for adornment, but it appears from the *Liber pontificalis* that a Spanish art of embroidery was coexisting with the Greek. We not only hear of Spanish veils and vestments,¹ but popularly the very manner of enclosing a cross or adorning the edge of the chalice, for which not the term *περίχλεια*, but *ἐπανώχλεια*, that is, "enclosed from above," was appropriate, was known as *spanoclista*,² as though of Spanish workmanship. This *spanoclista* was apparently understood to be equal to *spanica lista*, which, by the side of *periclista*, as though *perica lista*, gave rise to *lista* for "embroidered or ornamented border."

This *lista* became in western Europe the common word for "border,"³ and the Anglo-Saxon glosses place it now on the side of Latin, now on the side of Anglo-Saxon. It is found in all the Germanic languages, with the fundamental meaning of "a narrow strip," in Old High German as *lista*, Middle High German, *līste* "wormlike strip, edge, border," and similarly in the other languages. In Modern German, as *leiste*, it has successively evolved the meanings "edge of a garment,

Grecorum est; similiter et vestem de purpura imperiale munda I, super altare maiore, ex omni parte cum storia, cancellos et rosas de chrisoclavo, magne pulchritudinis deornatam; etiam et velum I de stauraci unum, cum cruce de chrisoclavo et litteris de auro grecis," p. 147 f.

¹ "Vela de spanisco ornata in circuitu de fundato," p. 122, also p. 107; "vestis de spaniscu," p. 132.

² "Fecit autem ubi supra crucem maiorem ex auro fulvo nimis *spanoclista*, ornatam gemmis pretiosis," p. 16; similarly pp. 17, 29, 33, 55, 62, 134, 146.

³ "Plagelle duo serici cum *liste* ad intallata" (993), Camera, *Storia . . . di Amalfi*, vol. I, p. 151; "duas flectas spaniscas, una de arate, et tres *listem* inferrate" (1021), Capasso, *Mon. ad. Neapol. Ducatus hist. pert.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 252; "fondata serica bona gaytanisca, una cum ipsa mea *lista* fresata ad auro" (1028), *Tabularium Casinense*, vol. I, p. 300.

narrow piece of wood bordering an object, narrow metal strip, diaphragm, weal." Much more interesting is the evolution of the word in French territory, where we shall investigate it, not only etymologically, but also industrially, in its bearing on the manufacture of cloth in the Middle Ages.

In all the Romance countries *lista*, *listra* lies at the foundation of words for "border." In France we have also, from (peric)*lisi*, the simpler derivations *lisi**ette*, *lisiere* "the longitudinal edge of a fabric"¹, hence "frontier, end, rhyme,"² hence *liserer* "to furnish with a border."³ This group of words has produced ModFr. *lisiere* for the far more common derivations in the Middle Ages from *lista*. *Liste*, *listhe*, *lite*, *litte*, *listre*, *licte*, *littre*, *listel*, etc., signify "edge, border, fringe, band." The English dictionaries will show how this has led to a large number of meanings, to end with the *lists* in a tournament and a *list* of writing. In the earliest French quotations these words refer to the richly embroidered edge, but from the thirteenth century on we find constant references in the manufacture of cloth to the longitudinal edges of the cloth. This was made by a different weaver,⁴ obviously, because it was sewn on to the cloth, as is occasionally mentioned in the sources, and the legal measurement of such cloth was always between the *lists*, because the *lists* were of inferior quality. Thus the original custom of adorning the edge of the garment by embroidery or pearls left an imprint on the whole cloth manu-

¹ "Les *lisiectes* des robbes" (1422). I quote all the French quotations from Godefroy, where the proper references may be found. "*Lissiere* (de la drap)" (1248), "*lisires*" (1282), "*la lisiere* de draps" (1316). *Lisura* occurs as early as 1197 in *Chronica Rogeri de Houdene*, London 1871, vol. IV, p. 34.

² "Son adversaire avoit grosse puissance de guerres es *lisieres*" (1521), "lignes toutes de une *lisiere* et termination" (1521).

³ "Une robe de tafetas pourpre *lezeree* de ruban d'or" (1498).

⁴ "Que nus *listeres* ne ouist drap *lister* ke . . s'il avenoit cose que alguns de ces *listeurs* fust malades" (1262).

facture of the Middle Ages by perpetuating a frequently useless *list* in the cloth for the purpose of a possible adornment in the old fashion. At Narbonne, weavers were not permitted to weave black cloth in the streets, but they could weave there the *list*,¹ and list-less cloth was less valuable at S. Gilles.² In Modern Provençal *listo*, *listro* has not only the meanings of "edge of cloth, rim," etc., but also the more antique one of "a fine piece of fabric with which chemises and other female garments are adorned." Thus the original significance of *periclista* has been, in spite of many newer connotations, preserved with remarkable tenacity in all the countries of Europe using derivations from *lista*.

We can now turn to the word *borda* in the Anglo-Saxon glossaries. It is given in the *Corpus Glossary* as the Anglo-Saxon equivalent for *lesta* or *clavia*. The first is our *lista* just discussed, and *clavia* is the *clauum* of *chrysoclavum*, *auroclavum* of the early texts. *Auroclavum* occurs already in the *Charta Cornutiana* of the year 471³ and is there used to represent the gold-embroidered edge, which took the place of the classical *clavus*, the colored strip at the edge of the tunic. In the phrase *periclisi de chrysoclavo* we have a tautology, for the real meaning of this combination is "border of gold-border." In any case, *periclista*, Greek *περίχλιστα*, is the Byzantine translation of *clavus*, which was understood as a derivative from *claudio* and so was translated by *(περί)χλιστα*. In the Anglo-Saxon gloss the synonymous *clavia* and *lista* are translated by *borda*. But if *borda* is identical with them, it must represent the same kind of ornamental

¹ "Item volem quels teichedors non tescan draps en los cals sia tencha negra, si no era tan solament *lista* o veta." I quote the Provençal passages from Levy's *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*.

² "E cendat a *lista* II. d. et ses *lista* non dona ren."

³ *Liber pontificalis*, vol. I, p. CXLVII.

border, and if this be so, it of necessity must have a Byzantine prototype, since the ornamental border has been shown to originate for western Europe in the Byzantine Empire. Now the oldest and far more popular technical term for such a border in the late Roman Empire was *paragauda*. This *paragauda* (παραγᾶδης, παραγᾶδη) is "a border of purple or gold, at the hem of a tunic, and by extension the garment itself which was so adorned. The name, which came from the Orient, appeared among the Romans in the middle of the third century A. D."¹ In the *Charta Cornutiana* of the year 471 *paragaudata*² occurs several times in the sense of "with a border," and it is significant that one text reads *baragaudata*, *varagaudata* for it. If we keep in mind that the Greek γ was in the Middle Ages, even as it is now, a sonant guttural, which to the western ear is inaudible, it at once becomes clear why *paragauda* should appear there in the form of *borda* or *brouda*. Thus our Anglo-Saxon *borda* is merely an older equivalent of *liste*, at a time when the Byzantine world was more familiar with παραγᾶδης, παραγᾶδη than with περιχλίστα.

The meaning for Gothic *baurda* "footstool," as given in the dictionaries, is certainly wrong, because no such connotation is to be found in any of the other Germanic languages. It occurs only in the combination *fōtubaurda*, as the translation of Greek ὑποπόδιον in three passages of the New Testament. These passages are merely reminiscences of Isaiah 66.1, Psalms 110.1 and four other places in the Old Testament, where the expression ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου, a translation of Hebrew הָרֶם לְרַגְלֶךָ, has been without questioning

¹ E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, sub *paragauda*.

² "Vela blattea auroclava *paragaudata*, vela linea auroclava *paragaudata* clavaturas rotundas, vela linea *paragaudata* persica clavatura coccumellino prasinās," *Liber pontificalis*, vol. I, p. CXLVII.

rendered in the Vulgate as "scabella pedum tuorum, footstool of your feet." However, *ὑποπόδιον* does not occur outside Alexandrine and patristic literature, and its precise meaning is not ascertainable outside its own vicious circle, even as the Hebrew prototype is not known in any other combination from which the meaning could be ascertained. Now, the Hebrew *הָדוֹם* approximately *hadom* in pronunciation, is remarkably like Coptic *tom, tām, thōm* "rug, carpet, mat," which, since there is no antecedent for it in Egyptian, represents a foreign word for an imported or foreign product. The Hebrew *hadom* has a late representative in Chaldaic *hadom* "step upon" and Arabic *hadama* "lay low, raze to the ground," apparently semasiological developments of "rug, mat," for which there are no equivalent forms in the other Semitic languages; hence all these are of a foreign origin. Rugs or mats, if they were of felt, were in antiquity, even as now, imported from the East, and this is borne out by the genetic history of *hadom*. The Chinese *chen*, of which the old pronunciation was *tiam, tian* or *tan*, means "coarse fabrics, rough and nappy, as rugs, carpets, blankets, felted hats." The Annamite *dhēm* "rug, mattress" shows that the old Chinese pronunciation was probably, nearer *tham* or *dham*. But it is in Tibetan that we get the nearest form: namely, *stan* "mat, carpet, esp. a carpet for sitting on, also a cushion," more particularly *hḍan* "a bolster, a seat composed of several quilts or cushions, put one upon the other (five for the common people, nine for people of quality)." We, therefore, are entitled to the conclusion that the Hebrew and Greek phrases of the Bible refer to an expression of respect, borrowed from the Tibetans or some other Mongol nation, which consisted in placing rugs, mats, or cushions under a person's feet; but, what is more important, the use of the foreign

word for this article shows conclusively that rugs or cushions were imported in Palestine and Egypt centuries before the Christian era. Possibly the very presence of the expression in the Old Testament may enable the critic to date the passages, as the absence of the term from Egyptian, Greek or Latin, would seem to point to a comparatively late importation, perhaps after the reign of Alexander the Great. In any case, the translators of the Septuagint, to whom the stereotyped phrase had no definite meaning, (since with the Greeks and the western nations the seat of dignity was on a throne, with a possible footstool on which to place the feet), cautiously used for it *ἐποπόδιον*, without determining the precise form of the object which was placed under the feet. In the Itala this is generally translated by the equally colorless "subpedaneum" or is entirely omitted, and only the Vulgate has authorized the meaning "scabella" for this rare word. There is, therefore, no possibility of being sure that the Gothic *fōtu-baurda*, which was made from Greek sources, really meant "footstool." Considering the whole volume of semasiological evolution of *borda* in Europe, there is no necessity here of going any further than to translate *fōtu-baurda* by "footstrip" or "cushion."

The Roman *paragauda* is of a very ancient origin. It is found in Hebrew פֶּרֶכֶת "veil of the Sanctuary," and this word of high antiquity is etymologically identical with Egyptian *perχ* "to spread out, coverlet, carpet," which is recorded in the Coptic *pork*, *hapork*, *haport* "carpet, blanket," wherefore the German *borda* may go back to a popular form in the Roman Empire, where *paragauda*, also recorded as *baragauda*, may already have been used in a more abbreviated form. That such popular forms existed is made certain by the Byzantine *περίχυτον* for a garment with an em-

broidered border of gems and pearls,¹ where *περίχυτον* "poured about" is, no doubt, a popular etymology of *παραγούδης*, and the *περίκλειστα*, before mentioned, may after all only be a further free rendering of *περίχυτος*, in an attempt to give a precise idea of the manner of adornment, which shut in the garment with its border. The great variety of forms in the Germanic languages shows conclusively that *borda* and its derivatives are of foreign origin, due, apparently, to a similar variety in the popular forms of *paragauda*. In the Old High German we find *bort*, *borti*, *borto* as translations of "ora, limbus, extremitas, mensa, latus navis, labium, corona, auriphrygium, praetexta toga, vestis consulum,"² *prort*, *prart*, *prat*, *prot* "prora, labium, margo, limbus, corona," *prurti*, *prurdi* "ordo," *gabrortōt* "limbatum, illusum, picta (vestis)," *bret*³ "asser, tabula;" that is, we have various semasiological developments from "border, strip," and the direct relation of this group to *paragauda*, not only etymologically, but also in meaning, is proved by the gloss *prarte* "interrasili," where we have the identity of *paragauda* with the *rasa* of the still older authors. The Anglo-Saxon family derived from this prototype can now easily be established, as in Old High German we have here the form *bord*; but instead of being recorded with the meaning "border strip," etc., we here find for it the connotations "board, plank, table, shield, covering of a ship, ship itself, abroad," thus coinciding in semasiological volume with AS. *bred* "surface, plank, board, table, tablet" and the corresponding OHG.

¹ "Σκαράνικον χρυσοχόικόν, λιθάρια καὶ μαργαριτάρια ἔχον οὕτω λεγόμενα περίχυτα," Codinus Curopalates, cap. II, in *Corpus scrip. hist. Byz.*, Bonnae 1839, p. 14.

² "Palla linea greisca, sirico intertexta, pallas lineas greiscas, cum auro *porto* paratas, palla linea polimita, et ipsa cum auro *porto* parata" (9. cent.), *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, vol. IV, p. 250. This shows conclusively that *borto* and *brustum* are one and the same.

³ That this belongs to our group is proved by Esthonian *laud* "table," for *raud*, contracted from a Germanic *braud*, which at once relates *bret* with *brod*, hence with *bord*, etc.

bret. At the same time OHG. *prort* is represented by AS. *brerd*, *breard*, *briord* "brim, margin, rim, top of a pot or vessel, shore, bank, brink," while *brord* is "a prick or point, lance, javelin, first blade or soire of grass or corn." The very confusion, as compared with the OHGerman, shows that the group is one and the same, and that the underlying meaning is again "a narrow strip." So, too, in Icelandic we find *bord* "board, plank, side of a ship, margin between the rim of a vessel and the liquid, table," while *broddr* is "shaft, spike, the front of a column or body of men;" that is, here again we get semasiological derivations from "a narrow strip." Similarly, it is not possible to separate the AS. *bredan*, *bregdan* "weave, braid, knit, join together, draw, pluck, move to and fro, vibrate, cast, drag, change, bend, change, vary, transform," with the corresponding Icel. *bregða* "draw, brandish, move quickly, turn, alter, change, braid, knot, bind, weave," from this group, for we have here distinctly the meaning "make a narrow strip, draw out a strip," etc. The Byzantine *paragauda* was known to the Germans at least since the fourth century, hence the universality of the semasiological group among them. The influence of this manner of adorning the clothes upon the whole of Europe is proved by the presence of the same group of words with Slavic languages at an early date. *Pürt*, *pürüt*, *port*, *prüt* occur in the Church Slavic since the eleventh century in the sense of "cloth, garment, coverlet, piece of fabric, swaddling cloth," and the derivative *pürtišče*, *portišče*, *pürtük*, *pürütük*, *portok* has similar meanings. Many of the modern Slavic dialects have preserved *parta* (Slovenian *portik*) in the more antique sense of a "narrow band, fillet," while the Russian Polish *portki* "trousers," Russian *portnoy* "tailor" bear witness to the fact that the very idea of garment making has been connected with that of the ancient *paragauda*, and that,

consequently, it precedes in Russia the Byzantine influence after Christianization in the tenth century. When later fashions of Byzantine or western clothes superseded the older one of *paragauda* origin, *part*, *port*, etc., in the Slavic languages deteriorated to the meaning of "coarse cloth, sackcloth," and derivatives from this set, such as Polish *partacz*, have been used to express contemptuously the work of an old fashioned worker, a cobbler, humbug.

The group is equally old and universal in the Romance countries, and it will suffice to give the Latin forms, as recorded in mediaeval documents, in order to show that it is not necessary to go to Germanic prototypes for them. On the continent glosses as old as the *Corpus Glossary* contain the gloss *clauia borda*,¹ which may be the prototype of the Anglo-Saxon gloss. In the documents *borda* is recorded with the meanings of "border, edge, fringe," and from this are derived the forms *bordaria*, *bordura*, *bordua*, etc., with similar connotations; while *brodus*, *broderia*, *broda* more generally means "embroidery." Most persistent is a participial form *brudatus*, which is recorded in a great variety of forms, as *brodatus*, *breudatus*, *broderatus*, *broydatus*, *brusdatus*, *bruslatus*, *brullatus*. The form *brustus*, as though a participle from *brudere*, instead of *brudare*, is recorded as early as the ninth century, and it aids us at once to justify the correctness of the gloss *clauia borda* which, on account of some very corrupt readings, has been suspected of being incorrect.² In a donation of the year 876 we hear of a green streamer with *brusdum* and of a skin with *brisdum* or *brusdanum*,³ while in the tenth century we hear of altar cloths and

¹ *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, vocabulary, sub *borda*.

² *Corp. gloss. lat.*, l. c.

³ "Fanono viridi cum *brusdo*," M. Prou et A. Vidier, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire*, Paris 1900-1907, p. 64; "bursa cum *briso* (*brusdano*)," *ibid.*, p. 65.

vestments adorned with *aurum brustum*.¹ Here *aurum brustum* is the exact rendering of *auroclauum* of the *Charta Cornutiana*, hence the equation between *claua* or *clauia* and *borda*, and hence the various glosses *bursa cloaca*, *burca clauaca*, etc.,² are obviously corruptions of *borda clauia* going back to the older *paragauda clavata* of the *Charta Cornutiana*. If the form *brusta* is very old and existed already in Gothic, we would at once have a confirmation of the supposition of the Germanic scholars who for Germanic *prort*, *brord* assumed as a prototype a Goth. *bruzd*. But for the Fr. *broder*, Eng. *broider*, Span. *broslar*, etc., it is not necessary to go back to a German form, as the corruptions of *paragauda* were current all over Europe and are directly responsible for these derivations. *Paragaudata* has entered the Romance languages as *parata* and has thus produced the verb *parare* "to adorn." It is obvious from the *Charta Cornutiana* that *paragaudata* is a technical term meaning "with a border, adorned with a border." Now, in later times, the word *parata* takes its place,³ and its exclusive use in this stereotyped phrase is absolute proof of its origin.

We can now turn to the third group in the Anglo-Saxon glossaries, the one which is represented by "lembum, oresta, thres." It has been assumed that *oresta* is a welding of *ora* and *lista*,⁴ but that is not correct.

¹ "Vestes duas altaris de auro brusto cum gemmis... aliam vestem albam circumornatam auro brusto et in medio crucem auri brusti cum gemmis et margaritis," *MGH., Scriptores*, vol. X, p. 536.

² *Corp. gloss. lat., l. c.*

³ "Stolas auro paratas, fanones de pallio auro paratos" (7. cent.), Achery, *Spicilegium*, vol. II, p. 306; "Fanones lineos serico paratos ad offerendum ad altare... manicas sericas auro et margaritis paratas" (812), *MGH., Leges* I, p. 176; "Palla linea gricisca, sirico intertexta, pallas lineas greciscas, cum auro porto parata, palla linea polimita, et ipsa cum auro porto parata... fanones linei grandes et boni cum sirico parati" (9. cent.), *Z. für G. d. Oberrheins*, vol. IV, p. 250; "Pallia tria de auro et margaritis ornata, et alia II pallia nil parata; casucula 1 dioc... auro et margaritis ornata, et alias III casuculas nihil paratas" (888), *Cod. dip. Langob.*, col. 571. A much larger list will be found in Ducange.

⁴ *Corp. gloss. lat., sub oresta.*

It is identical with the *aresta* of the thirteenth century in France and England, when it has the meaning of "embroidered cloth," as has been shown before, though here it has the meaning of "border, edge." *Arista*, originally "spike," but more commonly used in the sense of "fishbone," has apparently been applied to anything pointed or sharp, hence to "corner," as it is occasionally used in this latter sense in English documents.¹ It can, therefore, be easily confused with *clavus* "pointed stick," with which the classical *clavus* "the border of the garment" was confused, for example, by Festus, who said that a *clavatum* was a garment that was interwoven with *clavi* or shoes held together with *clavi*.² *Arista* and *clavus* were, therefore, almost identical. While *rasum*, *rasa* in the South led to *arazum*, *araça*, it was in the North still further transformed popularly to *arista*, which appeared as a counterpart of *clavus* or, as the glosses have it, of *clavia*. But, while it generally remained as *aresta*, *arista*, it was also still further changed to *oresta*, to bring it in line with a group of words which has arisen from three different words, with derivatives from *ὠράριον*, Lat. *orarium*, which is already found in Gothic as *aurali*, AS. *orl* "kerchief," Ital. *orla* "border;" with those from *aurum*, such as *aurifrigium* leading to Fr. *orfroy* "ornamental border;" with Lat. *ora* "border, edge."

The Anglo-Saxon *thres*, *thraes*, with which *oresta* is glossed, is quite rare in the language, but its antiquity and genuineness is proved by OHG. *trado*, *drādo*, *drado*, *traro*, *trara*, *trabo* for "fimbria, ora vestimenti, extrema pars vestimenti." The great changeability of the last

¹ "Cooperturam autem in talem, quae ex transverso conos protendit, commutavit. Et lineae ipsae praedictae, quae vulgariter *aristae* nuncupantur, turrim et mirabiliter roborabant, et roboratam decorabant" (13. cent.), T. Walsingham, *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani*, London 1867, vol. I, p. 281.

² "*Clavata* dicuntur aut vestimenta *clavis* intertexta au calciamenta *clavis* confixa."

syllable at once betrays its foreign origin. *Trado*, *traro* have arisen from a form *trazo*, even as *brord* is supposed to go back to an older *bruzd*, while *traba* owes its origin to a confusion with *trama*, with which it is glossed. The identity of AS. *thraes* (we have also the form *tres*, corrected to *thres*), OHG. *trado* with Arab. *tiraz* is obvious.

I have pointed out the relation of *dorsipalio* to *tiraz palio*, but as a cloth for a baldachin is also called *trapol*,¹ the *dorsipalio* group may have evolved independently from the Arabic. We have seen before how Ital. *interzare* "to braid" arose from our group, but, as in the Russian *terezna*, *trezna*, we have also a mass of French words derived from a prototype *trassina*. Unfortunately, there arose here an early confusion with the Lat. *trahere*, so that meanings which may be connected with "drag" have outlived the original one of "braid," but not entirely so. While *trassina*, under influence of *trahere*, has produced *tragina*,² and *traina*, the latter is still preserved in the Catalan *trena*, Prov. *treno*, *treino* "braid," and *tragina* is in its earliest quotation given, not in the sense of "drag," but of "mountain slide," that is, a ribbon-like road.³ So, too, we have a confusion in Fr. *tirasse* with Lat. *trahere*. OFrench knows this word not only as an equivalent for "trainée," but also in the sense of "net, coverlet." Here, then, *tirasse* refers to the cloth as well as to its uses as a net, where the compound idea of "dragnet" at once associates it with Lat. *trahere*. Hence we get OFr. *tirasser*

¹ "De sero fuit* detectum vulgo dictum un *trapol*, per modum tecti seu cooperturae sepulchri," Ducange, sub *trapol*.

² The form *tragina* unquestionably owes its origin to Greek τὰ ῥάκινα, an expression with which τὰ ῥάσινα has been confused, even as ῥάκος, originally "a torn garment," appears in Byzantine sources in exactly the same connotations as ῥάσιον (cf. Ducange, sub ῥάκος). This becomes still more evident from the Russian sources, where both are translated by *pürt*, etc.

³ "Ad comam vel ad ipsam *traginam* quae descendit de cacumine montis" (981), Marca, *Marca hispanica*, col. 926.

“to drag,” and *tirer* is, no doubt, derived from *tirasser*, and not vice versa, as is usually supposed. *Tirasse*, in the abbreviated forms *trasse*, *trache*, *trasse*, *trace* means “a row, file, hedge” as well as “tress,” and in the Span. *trenza*, Port. *tranza* “braid” we have, apparently, a confusion of the original *tressa*, *trassa* with *trassina*. The form *tressa*, influenced by Lat. *trica*, which in the compounds *intricare*, *extricare* already implied the idea of “to confuse, get mixed up,” has produced in Low Latin *trica*, *tricia*, *treza*, leading to Ital. *treccia*, *trezza* “braid;” while Fr. *tracer* “to trace” may have developed directly from the idea “to follow in a line.” Of course, some of these etymologies may be more complex in structure, and some may even have to be abandoned, but there cannot be any doubt as to the fact that the use of the ornamental border in the clothes of the early Middle Ages, which was universal from Byzantium to Spain and England, is responsible for an enormous number of derivations in the modern languages of Europe. On the other hand, it can be shown that the Graeco-Roman manufacture of cloth has had its influence on the extreme East, from which it has received the very *rasa* which lies at the basis of our investigation.

Aras is recorded in 1068 in the Uigur *Kudatku Bilik*¹ in the sense of “coarse wool.” Of course, it would not be impossible for Greek *ράσον* to have reached the extreme East through the Arabic, but what complicates the matter is the fact that the Japanese has the word *rasha* for “woolen cloth.” The etymologist² derives this from Dutch *laken rassen*, proceeding from the conviction that the Dutch were the first to introduce woolen goods into Japan. However, a number of facts have been overlooked. In the first place, *ras*,

¹ H. Vámbéry, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik*, Innsbruck 1870, p. 188.

² F. Brinkley, *An Unabridged Japanese-English Dictionary*, Tokyo [1896].

from which *rassen* is a rather rare adjective, had in the sixteenth century become the denomination of so cheap and worthless an article for wear that it could not very well have been the generic for woolen cloth, if there had not been other reasons for such an adoption. Now there is in Japanese also a word *rasen* "a kind of woolen rug or carpet," which is written ideographically by the Chinese *lo*, of which the old pronunciation was *la* or *lat*, "a silk stuff like netting," and *chen*, old pronunciation *tiam*, which I have already discussed before, "a carpet, rug, mat." Hence, this *rasen* is without the slightest doubt a Chinese compound, and Japanese *ra*, Old Chinese *la*, shows the same deterioration from a coarse, large-meshed silk stuff to a woolen cloth as has taken place in Europe. Similarly, Japanese *rasha* is written with the Chinese ideogram for *la* "a silk stuff like netting" and, as we have seen, "coarse wool," and *sha* "a silk stuff of thin texture worn in the summer."¹ It is, therefore, obvious that Japanese *rasha* has either by accident gone back to the source of Lat. *rasa*, that is, the Chinese *la-sha*, or that it has preserved the Chinese *la-sha* in exactly the same way as the Roman *rasa*, imported with the article from China, has been preserved in the drap d'*Arras* of the Middle Ages. That the latter is the case is shown conclusively by Japanese *rasen*, where *ra*, and not *ras*, has the value of "coarse wool." But we have also an independent proof of the antiquity of Chinese *la-sha*, *lat-sha* in Asia. It is preserved in Čagatay Tatar *aladja* "Turkoman tent, a closely woven stuff manufactured in Central Asia,"² while in Turkey, Persia and India *aladja*, *alacha* does not mean "a woolen fabric," but a kind of silk. In India it

¹ So, too, in Annamese *la* is "fils entrelacés, filets, rets," *sa* "soie légère, tissu mince et transparent, crêpe, gaze, linon," J. Bonet, *Dictionnaire annamite-français*, Paris 1899-1900.

² H. Vámbéry, *Čagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867, p. 212.

has been popularly changed to *ilacha*, as though from *ilachi* "cardamom," and this kind of silk generally has such cardamoms embroidered upon it.

Lasha is not the only Chinese silk product which appeared in the Roman markets. Of the several other varieties which I have been able to identify I shall here mention only the one which in Rome and Byzantium was known as *sigillata*, and whose influence upon the European textile manufacture, as will soon be seen, was enormous. A law of the year 393 prohibited an actress from wearing gems, *sigillata serica*, or gold-embroidered garments.¹ Because Lat. *sigillum* means "statuette,"² it has been universally accepted that this silk *sigillata* is a fabric richly embroidered with figures,³ an assumption which is based on no evidence whatsoever. In fact, it can be proved conclusively that the reference is not to figures, but to a peculiar kind of fabric. In the first place, the law distinctly states that less expensive silks of various colors may be worn and that the prohibition also includes purple silks. The *sigillata serica* was, therefore, an expensive kind of silk. It may have been diaphanous, and so naturally would have been condemned, but we know as yet nothing of any embroidered figures, which, if the word *sigillata* is not to be a misnomer, must stand out in relief. Now the mention of *sigillata* in the *Liber pontificalis* at the end of the eighth and in the beginning of the ninth centuries shows that, although occasionally rosettes were embroidered upon such cloth, *sigillata* was of a pure white color and of "all silk."⁴ The Greek

¹ "Nulla mima gemmis, nulla *sigillatis sericis*, aut textis utatur auratis. His quoque vestibus noverint abstinendum, quas Graeco nomine a Latino crustas (more likely alethinocrustas) vocant, in quibus alio admixtus colori puri robur muricis inardescit. Uti sane hisdem, scuclatis, et variis coloribus sericis, auroque sine gemmis colli, bracchiis, cingulo non vetamus," *Cod. Theod.*, XV. 7. 11.

² *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romanes*, sub *sigilla*.

³ *Ibid.*, sub *segmentum*.

⁴ "Vela *holoserica* maiora *sigillata* habentia periclisin, et crucem de

sources never use the expression *sigillata* because *όλοσήμερον* or any other description sufficed to indicate the quality. We also learn from a Byzantine source that the law of 393 was not entirely forgotten in the ninth century, for then, too, silk weavers were forbidden to weave purple or any other one-colored silks, though they could revel in variegated fabrics.¹ It is particularly important to keep the fact in mind that the costly fabrics were those of one clear color, more especially of royal purple, even as is indicated by the term *όλόκληρα*.² It is also interesting to observe that in the ninth century certain colored silk kerchiefs, with some kind of purple border, were manufactured for the Slavic markets, hence their name *σθλαβινικά φακίολα*.

In the year 393 the silkworm was not yet imported into the Roman Empire, hence the term *serica sigillata* must represent some Chinese ware. One can even now buy this delicate, smooth product in any Chinese silk store under the name of *shuh lo*, of which the old pronunciation was *shok lat* from *shok* "ripe, smooth like silk," and *lat* or *la* "netting-like silk," of which we have spoken before. The Romans, who always popularized foreign words, had no difficulty in changing *shok lat*, not because they were reminded of statuettes, but because the chief use of such silk stuffs was for veils or banners, as is abundantly proved by the frequent juxtaposition of *vela sigillata*, from an association with

blattin, seu fundato numero 15. Vela modica *sigillata* quae pendent in arcubus minoribus. Obtulit vestem *albam sigillatam* cum rosulis, habentem in medio crucem de blattin cum psilliis. Fecit vestem *sericam albam sigillatam* cum gammadiis. Vela *alba holoserica sigillata*."

¹ "Οἱ σηκάριοι εἰργέσθωσαν βλαττία κεκωλυμένα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἤτοι σκαραμάγγια ὀλόκληρα καὶ μεσόφορα ἢ ἡμιμηλινοδιβλαττα καὶ πρασινοδιβλαττα μεγαλόζηλα, ἐκτὸς τῶν καταπερσικίων, καὶ τούτων πολυχρόων, ἢ καὶ κατὰ χρεῖαν σθλαβινικῶν φακιδίων, καὶ τούτων μετὰ παρακοκκίδων τὰ δὲ βλαττία καταπερσίκια ἢ διαπίθαιμα χλανίδια ἐμφανίζεσθωσαν τῷ ἐπάρχῳ, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ δέκα τιμώμενα νομίσματα ἱμάτια, εἰ καὶ πολύχροα εἰεν," Jules Nicole, *Le livre du préfet*, Genève 1893, in *Mémoires de l'Institut Genevois*, vol. XVIII, p. 35 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

signum "military standard."¹ Hence the Anglo-Saxons, who persistently came under Byzantine influence, considered *sigla* as equivalent to "velum," and thus it is used in Anglo-Saxon not only as connoting the sails of a ship, but also "veil, standard." Thus arose AS. *segel* that has been popularized among all the Germanic nations. But *sigla* is not a specifically Germanic word. It is also found in the Romance countries, where it has been corrupted and influenced by *singula*. Hence we not only find *siglare* and *singlare* "to sail" in the Romance languages,² but also *singula* "flag or streamer."³ The ideal *sigla* or *singula* was naturally of a purple color, and as *singula* was conceived as a compound, *gula* broke off from it and has survived as the name for red or purple in heraldry.⁴ That *gula* is identical with *sigla* and was originally applied to "sail" in general is shown conclusively by a law of Aethelred in the beginning of the eleventh century, where a sail is denoted by the word *sigla*, for which one manuscript reads *gla* and two read *gula*.⁵

But the fate of *siglata* is more varied yet. Since it was used in the sense of "all silk," it became a technical term for "excellent cloth" and was applied to the product of the factories only when it had been shorn and dyed, more especially with the coccus, the standard dye. An early confusion arose with the

¹ I shall show in another article that the Roman and Germanic dragon standard was derived directly from China.

² See Ducange, sub *sigla*, and Godefroy, sub *singler*.

³ "Interdum perfidos aggressus est illos ut vexilli Regis *singulas* in ore Danorum volitare faceret," *Gesta consulum Andegar.* cap. 6. num. 13, in Ducange, sub *singula*.

⁴ "Delicioris etiam vestitus nulla Canonicis cura, ita ut *gulas*, quibus nunc ardet Clerus, penitus nescirent, linguas pelliciales ac manicas, non pallio, sed ingrato panno ornarent," Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.*, vol. IV, p. 460; "Unus ex ipsis cujusdam nobilis ex curia crusinam *gulis* ornatam quasi furtim praecidit," Bruno, *De bello saxonico*. Both quotations in Ducange, sub *gula*.

⁵ "Ad Billingesgate si aduenisset una naucula, 1 obolus tolonei dabatur, si maior et haberet *siglas* (*glas*, *gulas*), 1 d.," IV. 2, F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle a S. 1898, vol. I, p. 232.

common cloth or garment *scaramanga*, which is frequently mentioned in the generic sense of "military cloth," hence there arose even in Byzantium the word *σκαργελάτον*¹ for what in the North became *scarlatum*, from an earlier *scarglatum* or *scarclatum*, for which we have the record only in the Byzantine *σκαργελάτον*. Now Klumker has shown that the finest cloth in Carolingian times came from England and was distributed over Europe by Frisian merchants. Weckerlin,² on the other hand, has pointed out that there was no cloth *scarlatum* as the product of the looms, but that it was so known only as a perfect, well-dyed product. This *scarlatum*, in its older form *siclatum*, which produced the famous *cyclas* all over Europe,³ *cikilaton*, *ciclaton* of the Spaniards,⁴ *siglaton*, *siglate* of the French, produced the AS. *clad* "cloth." That this is the real origin of *clad*, *claeð* is shown by the fact that no equivalent for it exists in the older Germanic languages. It appears only in Middle High German as *kleit*, to be further distributed among the Germanic nations. It is again proved by the fact that OHG. *scarlaken*, *scarlachen* is obviously another corruption of *siglatum*, *scarlatum*, which here, in the North, broke into *scarlaken*, producing the noun *laken* for "cloth," which has survived even in the South, where one would expect

¹ Ducange.

² J. B. Weckerlin, *Le drap "escarlata" au moyen âge*, Lyon 1905.

³ Juvenal speaks of a *cyclas*, apparently "a mantle." It is possible that this is another form of *sigillatum*, as known in his day. In the later Latin writers (see *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, and Ducange, sub *cyclas*) it is absolutely identical with *sigillatum* in meaning, and as *cyclas*, *cycladis*, was common in England, *clad* is, no doubt, derived directly from it. The writing *cyclas*, as though Greek *κύκλας*, is mere popular etymology, for it is not once recorded in Greek.

⁴ "Almucella de cikilaton" (1058), *Port. mon. hist., Dip.*, p. 250; "duas dalmaticas greciscas, et unam ciquilatonem, et tres mantos" (1073), *España sagrada*, vol. XXXVI, p. LX. A fuller list for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries will be found in Francisque Michel's *Recherches*, etc., vol. I, pp. 220-225, et passim. At some future time I shall give a much more detailed account of the *sigillatum* and of similar stuffs.

lachen. The German glosses “*ralla scarlachen*,¹ *pannus rasilis scarlahhen*,”² and the AS. “*ralla, vel rasilis wogum bewerod hraegel*”³ show how *scarlaken* came to substitute the older *rasum* as a designation for cloth. *Ralla* is used by Plautus for a kind of light cloth, which corresponds to the *pannus rasilis* of the German and Anglo-Saxon glosses; for *rasilis* still reminds one of the value of *rasa* as a light fabric, generally used in the border of the garment, a fact borne out by the AS. *wogum bewerod hraegel*, which seems to mean “a cloak adorned with crooked lines.” There is no reference there to *rasilis* from *radere* “to shear close,” but the etymology readily suggested itself, and thus arose *scarclatum*, *scargelatum*, *scarlatum* out of *siglatum* on English territory. It can be shown conclusively, however, that this correlation is accidental and that two other words, Gr. *σκαραμάγγιον* and *σκαράνικον*, are responsible for the first part of *scarlatum*.

The *σκαραμάγγιον* was an outer mantle, generally of silk, as shown in the passage quoted from the *Livre du préfet*. It deteriorated into the Russian *sermyaga*, Polish *siermięga*, that is, *šermenga*, Russian and Polish *sukman* “a coarse peasant cloak,” but the latter form was derived directly from the French. In French the garment *σκαραμάγγιον* and the cloth *sigillatum*, which was of the same quality, as is to be judged from the fact that *σκαραμάγγιον* is mentioned by the same adjective *όλόκληρον* which is applied to the *sigillatum*, became merged in one another. *Escarbant*, *escarinant*, *esclarimant*, from *σκαραμάγγιον*, is generally combined in OFrench with *palie*, that is, *πάλλιον*, to express the costly silk used in the manufacture of that

¹ Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, Berlin 1895, vol. III, p. 147.

² Ducange, sub *scarlatum*.

³ Wright's *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*.

garment.¹ Now there is in Byzantium a garment *σχαρόνυχον*, which is identical with or very closely like the *σχαραμάγγιον*, for it was used as an outer mantle and was embroidered with gold thread. This *σχαρόνυχον* is extremely common in OFrench poetry as *sourkenie*, *souscanie*, *sequenie*, etc., and here it is specifically mentioned as being an outer mantle. It not only deteriorated in meaning and quality by giving Fr. *souquenille* "a peasant's cloak," but is also responsible for the Slav. *sukno* "cloth, garment," even as *escarmant* has produced Russ. *sukman*. Moreover, it can be shown conclusively that it is not only the words that passed over from France into the Slavic countries, but that the garments were actually exported from that region to the East of Europe. *Sukno* has in the earliest Russian quotations the determining adjective "German," that is, foreign, and "Ypres," so that its provenience from Flanders or the Lowlands in the fourteenth century is quite certain; then, again, a Byzantine poet distinctly refers to the "Latin" *σουκανία*, that is, he is conscious of its French origin.² While in the Slavic countries the Byzantine *σχαραμάγγιον* and *σχαρόνυχον*, through the French, were responsible for the latest words for "cloth, clothes," even as the product of the Northern factories began to reach them, the West mingled with its older *sigillatum* the new *σχαραμάγγιον* and *σχαρόνυχον* and produced the famous *scarlatum*, "the cloth par excellence." *Scarlatum* was not any particular cloth, but represented the best stuffs of England and the Lowlands, after they had passed the process of a second shearing and had been dyed with the coccus or grain in the dyehouses of Montpellier or other cities that made a specialty of such dyeing. Then they came into the hands of the

¹ Godefroy, sub *escarimant*.

² "Λατινικά τὰ βούχα τ' ἦσαν τ' ὠραϊσμένης Ἐπάνω χρυσοκόκκινα ἐφόρει σουκανίαν", Ducange, sub *σουκανία*.

local merchants for distribution or were carried by the Venetians to the furthest countries in Asia. Of this we have abundant proof in Siamese *sakkarlat*, Burmese *thekalat*, Tibetan *saglad*, Persian *šakilat* "broadcloth of European manufacture, most generally dyed red." Thus the commercial circle has been completed. Rome in the beginning of the Christian era received enormous consignments of silk from China. Two of its varieties, *lat-sha* and *shok-lat*, were particularly conspicuous in the Roman markets. The first, giving the Romans their light summer garment, the *toga rasa*, on account of its extreme lightness had a tendency to deteriorate in the successive stages of its woolen manufacture, in imitation of that of the Chinese silk, but maintained itself in its original purpose for embroidery and ended in giving its name to the famous *Arras* tapestry of the later Middle Ages. The second, giving rise to the appellation *sigillatum*, on account of its better and smoother texture, became the standard for the cloth manufacture of the north as regards smoothness and color, and has found its way back to the distant East, together with the wares of the Northern looms which the Venetians carried thither.

Long after writing the above, I chanced to fall upon the origin of MHG. *kleit*, which not only confirms my conclusions, but also adds a number of new, interesting developments from *sigillatum*. The Keronian-Hrabanian glosses have:¹

Depluidis	<i>caspan</i>	<i>uwindlahhan</i>	<i>uuintlahan</i>	<i>uuat</i> } amictus usque ad pedes contingens
<i>sagum</i>	<i>chelatoh</i>	<i>khelatoah</i>	<i>kelatuah</i>	
<i>uel clamidis</i>	<i>chucilahhan</i>	<i>edho zuzilahhā</i>		<i>lahhan</i> .

The Latin gloss is taken out of the *Glossae Affatim*,² and the German glosses represent various stages of

¹ Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen glossen*, Berlin 1879, vol. I, pp. 106 and 107.

² Goetz, vol. IV., p. 505.

corruption of *cyclaton*, for *sigillatum*. It is clear that here *chelatoh*, *chucilahhan*, and *lahhan* mean "a cloak," but in another place¹ the glossators have:

Monilia *khelotuh* *kelatoh* *casteini*.

This is Arab. قِلَادَة *qilāḍah* "a necklace, collar, and the like, that which is upon the neck." We have already met with a related word, LL. *caladum*, meaning "the throat," in the *Rubisca*.² The same word occurs in a gloss to Priscian's *Institutiones*, "collarium *chela-tuohc*."³

The confusion of *chelatuoh* "sagum" and "monilia" led to the division of the word into *kela* "neck, throat," whatever its origin may be, and *tuoh* "cloth."

What aided in this separation was Isidore's absurd etymology of *mantum* "Hispani vocant quod manus tegat,"⁴ which made it plausible that *tum* was a separate word meaning "cloth." Indeed, *mantuatus* is glossed as "ornamentum militare."⁵ This shows that *tu-* was considered as a distinct syllable, as though *mantus* were declined according to the fourth declension. The Anglo-Saxon stuck to *kelatoh*, which produced *clād*. But the longer OHG. *chucilahhan*, *zuzilahhan* has led to some strange results. *Chuci*, *zuzi* were detached, to form words for "coat, mantle." *Zussa* is several times recorded as a gloss of "lodix, genus vestimenti, stragulum, laena" and the Latin backformation "*tussina*." Smaragdus, writing in the ninth century, said of the *laena* "species vestis villosa est, quam nos *toxam* vocamus; alii vero *galnapem* eam vocant,"⁶ which shows that the word was of popular origin,⁷ even as we have

¹ Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. I, p. 211.

² See p. 32.

³ Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. II, p. 368.

⁴ XIX, 24. 15.

⁵ Goetz, in the Index.

⁶ Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. LXVI, p. 792.

⁷ Ducange gives, from Papias, "stragulum, vestis, quae *toxa* dicitur," and from Grimlaicus, "sufficiant autem eis stramenta lectorum, marta et cilicium, sagum, vel *toxa* et capitale." See also "*toxa* lena," Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. III, p. 261.

the equations "lena zussa" in the *Sancti Benedicti Regula*¹ and "tussa zussa,"² "tussina zussa,"³ "tapetia tusce, toscæ."⁴ More interesting still is "tussia l hussa unum sunt,"⁵ for here we seem to have a reference to *chuci* of *chucilahhan*.

The earliest reference to *chuci* seems to be of the year 799, where we are told that *cotzo* was the vulgar name for a new kind of garment.⁶ A hundred years later the reference is to *cottus* as a lay cloak.⁷ It is perfectly clear here that we pass over from *chuci* to *cotzus* and then to *cottus*, from which comes OFr. *cote*, Eng. *coat*, etc. This is also borne out by the gloss "byrrum kottus, kotzo" of the *Codex SGalli* 292 of the tenth century,⁸ because it is also found in the *Codex Carolsruh. SPetri*, which records more northern forms, hence this *kottus* occurs by the side of *kotzo*.

¹ Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. II, p. 53, and in J. H. Hessels' *A Late Eighth-century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, p. 5, "lena toscia."

² Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. III, p. 619.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 622 and 623.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 415, and in Hessels' *A Late Eighth-century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, p. 47, "abctape tysse."

⁵ Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. III, p. 620.

⁶ "Ut nullus communibus vestimentis spretis nova, et insolita assumat, id est quod vulgo nominatur *cotzos* vel *trembilos*," *Statuta Rhispacensia*, in *MGH., Capitularia*, vol. I, p. 227.

⁷ "Ut laicis indumentis clerici non utantur, id est mantili vel *cotto* sine cappa" (895), *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 248, and earlier (888), "et ut nemo clericorum arma portet, vel indumenta laica induat, id est *cottos* vel mantellos sine cappa," Mansi, vol. XVIII, col. 79.

⁸ Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. II, p. 759.

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WORD INDEX

Ann. = Annamese. — *Arab.* = Arabic. — *Arab.* (*Alcalá*). = Spanish-Arabic, recorded by Pedro de Alcalá. — *Aram.* = Aramaic. — *AS.* = Anglo-Saxon. — *Ass.* = Assyrian. — *Basq.* = Basque. — *Boh.* = Bohemian. — *Bret.* (*d.*) = Breton dialect. — *Bur.* = Burmese. — *Ćag.* = Ćagatay-Tatar. — *Can.* = Canarese. — *Cat.* = Catalan. — *Celt.* = Celtic. — *Chin.* = Chinese. — *Chin.* (*d.*) = Chinese dialect. — *Chin.-Eng.* = Chinese Pidgin-English. — *Copt.* = Coptic. — *Corn.* = Cornish. — *Dan.* = Danish. — *Drav.* = Dravidian. — *Dut.* = Dutch. — *Egypt.* = Egyptian. — *Eng.* = English. — *Esth.* = Estonian. — *Fr.* = French. — *Fr.* (*d.*) = French dialect. — *Gael.* = Gaelic. — *Ger.* = German. — *Ger.* (*d.*) = German dialect. — *Goth.* = Gothic. — *Grk.* = Greek. — *Heb.* = Hebrew. — *Hind.* = Hindustani. — *Icel.* = Icelandic. — *Ital.* = Italian. — *Ital.* (*d.*) = Italian dialect. — *Jap.* = Japanese. — *Lat.* = Latin. — *Lith.* = Lithuanian. — *LGer.* = Low German. — *LLat.* = Low Latin. — *Mal.* = Malay. — *Mal'm.* = Malayalam. — *Mar.* = Maratthi. — *MDut.* = Middle Dutch. — *MEng.* = Middle English. — *MHeb.* = Modern Hebrew. — *MHG.* = Middle High German. — *MLG.* = Middle Low German. — *OBret.* = Old Breton. — *OBul.* = Old Bulgarian. — *OFr.* = Old French. — *OFr.* (*d.*) = Old French dialect. — *OFris.* = Old Frisian. — *OHG.* = Old High German. — *OIr.* = Old Irish. — *ON.* = Old Norse. — *OProv.* = Old Provençal. — *OS.* = Old Saxon. — *OSpan.* = Old Spanish. — *Pal.* = Pali. — *Pers.* = Persian. — *Pol.* = Polish. — *Port.* = Portuguese. — *Prov.* = Provençal. — *Rom.* = Romance. — *Russ.* = Russian. — *Serb.* = Serbian. — *Siam.* = Siamese. — *Sin.* = Sinhalese. — *Skt.* = Sanskrit. — *Slav.* = Slavic. — *Slov.* = Slovenian. — *Span.* = Spanish. — *Swed.* = Swedish. — *Syr.* = Syriac. — *Tam.* = Tamil. — *Tel.* = Telugu. — *Tib.* = Tibetan. — *Turk.* = Turkish. — *Uri.* = Uriyah. — *Wel.* = Welsh.

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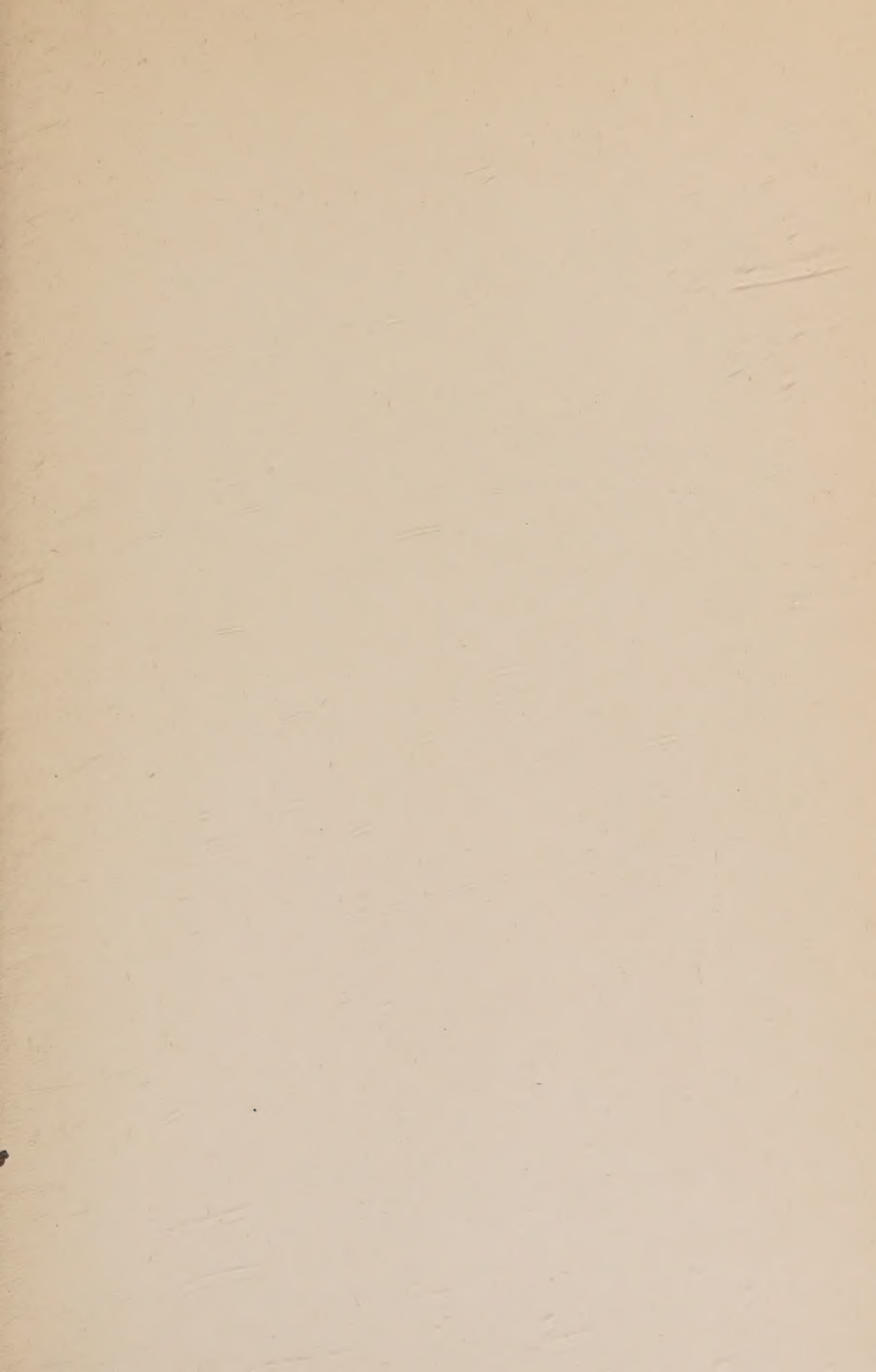
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